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Lahndi Phonetics

[With special reference to Awánkárí]

HARDEV BAHRI

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Lahndi Phonetics

[Part I of the Thesis approved by the Punjab University, Lahore, for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, 1944]

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PREFACE

The present work is a part of the thesis submitted to the Punjab University, Lahore, in 1941 and approved for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Oriental Faculty. It is now being published almost unaltered. The historical study of the Awankari dialect of Lahndi was presented to the students of Linguistics last year under the title "LAHNDI PHONOLOGY." This one is a descriptive study, and that, too, confined only to sound-analysis.

The value of this work has to be adjudged not only in view of the present state of phonetic studies but also in consideration of the conditions prevailing in the thirties of the century. Today we have a large number of machines and apparatuses which help us in arriving at accurate facts about the incidence of sounds and their differentiations in various combinations. But then it was only the Kymograph which was available to us in physics laboratories. That, too, however, was not quite useful in understanding the subtleties with which I became concerned. At last, I had to depend on God-made apparatus in preference to the one made by man. I trained my ears, and found that they never betrayed me.

One of the special features of this work is its detailed analysis of sounds and their variations as subsidiary members in particular environments for which Chapters I and V are especially recommended.

Diphthongs, triphthongs, tetraphthongs and even quadriphthongs exist in most of the Indian dialects although it is said that they were in greater abundance in Prakrits. No one has so far given a complete inventory of such vowel clusters in Prakrits. Perhaps, mine is the first study, in so much detail, of polyphthongs in a modern Indian language. The Chapters II and III are, therefore, a contribution to the study of Indian Phonetics.

The problem of phonetics has been dealt with in all its aspects, beginning with simple sounds and moving up to clusters, syllables, words and then sentences. Thus an attempt has been made to make it thorough. The exigencies of current speech have been properly exploited.

Various questions concerning gradations of aspiration, retro-

CHART OF PHONETIC SYMBOLS AND PRONUNCIATION

˜	Nasalization of the preceding vowel, as in **mʌ˜g,** ask, **ḍá˜g,** stick.
˙	the minute over a vowel shows lengthening; and separately, it indicates that the following syllable is stressed.
^	High-falling tone on the preceding vowel, as in **lá^,** to take down, **vi^l,** dampness.
ˇ	Low rising tone as in Panjabi.
1 2 3	grades of tone.
˙ ˙ —	even or level tones.
˙ —	stress and pitch together.
˙ /	Rising tone.
˙ ∫	rising pitch.
˙ ⌡	falling pitch.
—	significant pitch.
<	is derived from the following.
>	develops into the following.
ə	unstressed a, as in English 'abound', L. **ənár,** pomegranate.
ʌ	short a, as in English 'bud', L. **Jʌt,** hair.
á	long a, opener and flatter than in English 'all', L. **bál,** burn.
a͞i	front open vowel, as in English 'sat', L. **bha͞iṛ,** badness.
a͞u	back open vowel, opener than **o**, L. **Ja͞u˜,** barleys.
	[**a͞i** and **a͞u** are distinguishable from **aí, aú** which are diphthongs].
b	voiced unaspirated bilabial plosive, as in 'bat', L. **ba͞i˜t,** cane.
c	unvoiced unaspirated palato-alveolar fricative, as in English 'church', L. **cá,** lift.
d	voiced unaspirated dental plosive, as in English 'the', L. **de,** give.
ḍ	unaspirated retroflex d, as in English 'dull', L. **ḍʌk,** shut in.
	[**bh, ch, dh,** and **ḍh** are the aspirated forms as in **bhirá,** brother, **chole,** grams, **dhúṛ,** dust, **ḍhol,** drum].
e	half-open front vowel, as in English 'ate', L. **neṛe,** near.
f	labiodental, as in English 'fate', or Per. fikr, anxiety.
g	voiced unaspirated guttural, as in English 'go', L. **gá˜,** cow.
	[**gh** is aspirated **g,** as in **ghin,** take].
G	voiced uvular, as in Arabic 'ɢa͞in'.
h	voiced glottal as in English 'hat', L. **hʌl,** plough.

flexion, plosion, resonance, nasality retroflexion, quality, quantity, stress, tone, pitch, intonation, activities of organs of speech, voice, and breath, sonority, aperture, pause, etc. have been discussed at suitable places for which see the Index.

In preparing this thesis I was guided and helped by my revered Guru, Dr. Siddheshwar Varma, to whom I shall always remain indebted. In fact, it is he who initiated me into the science of language. Himself a Lahndi speaker and linguistician, he has been usefully critical and constructive in his suggestions.

I am also grateful to my teacher Dr. A. C. Woolner (died 1936), and friend and guide Dr. B. D. Jain (died 1952) for their valuable help and encouragement in the field of linguistic research.

Since he examined my thesis, Padma-Vibhushan Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji has been especially enamoured of this study, and it is due to his inspiration and encouragement that the book has seen the light of the day. **I, therefore, dedicate this humble work on Applied Phonetics to him.**

ALLAHABAD:
1st May, 1963.

HARDEV BAHRI
University of Allahabad.

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Although Sir George Grierson has rightly excluded a part of Montgomery and Gujranwala and whole of Lahore and Sialkot Districts from the Lahndi tract, the time is not far off when these areas will be totally affected by Lahndi dialects lying to their west. The migration of population since the partition of India and the formation of West Pakistan into a single unit are some of the factors which are bound to shift the eastern boundary of Lahndi to the political border. For centuries, it has been noted, eastern Punjabi has pushed Lahndi further to the west, but the events since 1947 have not only stopped that encroachment by eastern Punjabi, but given Lahndi a chance to retrieve its position in the eastern districts of West Pakistan which has now no communication with the Indian tracts where eastern Punjabi is vastly spoken.

Grierson has distinguished three forms of Lahndi:—Southern Standard, North-Western and North-Eastern. The southern dialects (Sháhpurí, Jhangí, Multáni, Deráwáli, Thalí, etc.) are spoken in the regions south of the Salt Range including the districts of Shahpur, Jhang, Lyallpur, Montgomery, Sheikhupura, Gujrat, Multan, Bahawalpur, Muzaffargarh, Dera Ghazi Khan and Mianwali. The number of speakers is about five million. The North-Western dialects (Hindko, Soháin, Dhanocí, etc.) are spoken in the Districts of Dera Ismail Khan, Bannu, Kohat, Attock, Jhelum, Peshawar and Hazara. The number of speakers is about one million. The North-Eastern Dialects (Poṭhowárí, Chibálí, Awáṇkárí, Ghebí, etc.) are spoken by about two million people in the districts of Rawalpindi, Hazara, Attock, Shahpur and Poonch (in Kashmir).

Awáṇkárí is the dialect with which the present treatise is mainly concerned.

The Awans

The Awans are an important tribe whose origin is still a mystery. Their own story is that they are of Arab origin, being descended from Qutub Shah Qadri Alwi*, and through him from Ali, the Prophet's son-in-law. At first they were called Alwis, i.e. people descended from Ali. They are mentioned as such by certain

*Qutub Shah is also called Hazrat ʿAon.

historians. Qutub Shah, who ruled at Herat in the first quarterly of the 11th century, joined Mahmud Ghaznavid in an invasion of the Punjab and received from him the name of Awan or "helper". The followers, including soldiers of Qutub Shah, were settled by Mahmud round about the Salt Range and here they became known by their newly-earned title of Awans, the "helpers", the word aʿánat meaning 'help' in Arabic. Arabian ancestory of the Awans is a favourite fiction.

General Cunningham holds that Awans or Anuwans were Rajputs who were settled here long before the time of Alexander. Anu, the brother of Yadu, was their ancestor, and Taxiles of the Greek histories was an Awan chieftain.

Mr. A. Brandreth gives a third account of the Awans. He is of the opinion that they are descended from the Bactrian Greeks, driven south from Balkh by Tartar hordes, and that they entered as an organized army into the Punjab from Herat not more than 300 years ago. This theory is improbable as the period of 300 years would bring them to the time of Akbar while there is agreement of opinion that the Awans are at least 800 years old.

I personally believe that the Awans were the Jat races living about the Salt Range. Here they were found by Mahmud of Ghazni, converted to Islam, given the title of Awans (helpers) and organized by Qutub Shah and his sons. In Peshawar they are always reckoned as Hindki which shows that they were Hindus first. This view is supported by Mr. Thomson* and Sir Denzil Ibbertson†; and in the Shahpur District Gazetteer, Wilson writes that the Awans, "so far as language, customs and physique go, are an indigenous Punjab tribe" Mr. Lepel Griffin also thinks that they were originally Hindus. This also agrees with the speech of these people which is essentially Indo-Aryan, as the following pages will show. Further a study of the manners,

*Jhelum District first Settlement Report.

† Punjab Census Report, 1881, para 405.

i half close short front vowel, as in English 'bid', L. **mil,** meet.
í close long front vowel, as in English 'me', L. **dhí,** daughter.
j semi-vowel, as in English 'yes', L. **já^rá˜,** eleven.]
J voiced unaspirated palato-alveolar, as in English 'joke', L. **Játuk,** child. [**Jh** is aspirated J, as in **Jhallá,** foolish.
k unvoiced unaspirated guttural, as in English 'kite', L. **káṭá,** cross. [**kh** is aspirated form of **k,** as in **kheḍ,** play].
l alveolar lateral, as in English 'look', L. **luk,** coal-tar.
L retroflex lateral, occurring non-initially, as in Awankari **Jəlum,** leech.
m bilabial voiced nasal, as in English 'moon', L. **mem,** madam.
n alveolar voiced nasal, as in English 'noon', L. **nʌk,** nose.
ń guttural or velar nasal, as in English 'ink', L. **nʌńgá,** naked.
n˜ palato-alveolar nasal, as in L. **Jʌn˜,** marriage party.
ṇ retroflex voiced nasal, as in L. **bhāiṇ,** sister.
o half-open back round vowel, as in English 'nose', L. **kolá,** coal.
p voiceless unaspirated bilabial, as in English 'pull', L. **pul,** bridge.
[**ph** is aspirated **p,** as in **phʌṭ,** wound.]
r alveolar rolled consonant, as in English 'rat', L. **rāulá,** noise.
ṛ retroflex (flapped) r, as in L. **choṛ,** leave (v.).
s dento-alveolar voiceless fricative, as in English 'sit', L. **sʌt,** seven.
sh post-alveolar voiceless fricative, as in English 'she', L. **shāi,** thing.
t voiced unaspirated dental, as in French 'table', L. **tú˜,** thou.
ṭ unaspirated breathed retroflex t, as in L. **ṭopí,** cap.
[**th** & **ṭh** are aspirated forms of **t** and **ṭ** as in L. **thálí,** plate, **ʌṭh,** eigi **t'**.
u short close back vowel, as in English 'book', L. **rut,** season.
ú long half-close back vowel, as in English 'boot', L. **súl,** pain.
v labio-dental voiced semi-vowel, as in English 'very', L. **vekh,** see.
x voiceless uvular fricative, as in Ger. 'ich', Per. 'xánaḥ', compartment.
z voiced form of s, as in English 'zebra', Per. 'zor', force.

INTRODUCTION

Lahndi

Lahndi is a modern Indo-Aryan language spoken in the West Punjab (now in Pakistan). In the east it gradually merges into Eastern Punjabi in the tract between the rivers Chenab and the Ravi. In the west it blends into Pashto dialects and in the north into some forms of Dardic languages. In the south-west it mixes with Balochi and in the south with Sindhi and Rajasthani. Except in the east, the boundaries of Lahndi are pretty well-marked.

Map showing the locale of Lahndi. The pocket towards the east of Afghani-speaking area is the Lahndi tract.

Map showing the boundaries of Lahndi. The single letters indicate main dialects to which reference has been made in the following eight pages. [A] pocket is the Awankari area.

superstitions* (which have always a long tale and old history), and modes of living of these people reveal that they were not Muslims in origin.

An Awan is, in appearance also, Aryan. He represents "the race of warrior poets who despised the arts of commerce and lived mostly by agriculture, with one hand on the sword and the other on the plough." His main occupation is agriculture. Awans are hard-working cultivators. Their women, who never keep *purdah*, do a lot of help-work. They milch the kine, churn their milk, feed the cattle at home, fetch water, prepare meals, grind corn, spin and darn and do many other duties besides their work at the farm, such as cotton-picking, watching the crops and gleaning the fields at harvest. Between the seed-time and the harvest-time, men have not much to do, except to feed the cattle. Their idleness, drought and hard times have told upon them so that they are much in debt. They are a curious instance of a peasant tribe with aristocratic tradition and indebted condition.

The Awans have frank and pleasing manners, but everywhere they are headstrong and irascible to an unusual degree. Their characteristic failings are vindictiveness and proneness to keep alive old feuds.

The Awans are an orthodox race. As a rule, they do not give their daughters in marriage to other tribes. They dislike leaving their homes, except for military service which they enjoy; and even in the army they mix among themselves. Their organization is still tribal as was that of the Aryan immigrants of old.

The Habitat of the Awans

There is consensus of opinion, as shown above, that the Salt

*They must not start on a journey on certain days of the week. To meet a sweeper, a dog, a Khatri, a maiden, a horseman or a donkey is considered fortunate. It is unlucky to meet a Brahman, a Mulla, a cat, a widow and so on. It is considered very unlucky for a cow to calve in the month of Bhádo", for a mare to drop a foal in Sáwan and so on. A child of one sex born after three children of the opposite sex portends misfortune to the parents, etc.

Note—Only the Pathans care for none of these things.

Range was the first home of the Awans. From here they spread into the adjoining portions of Mianwali, Shahpur, Jhelum and Attock Districts. At present they are scattered all over the western Punjab and some souls may be found even outside the Province. At first the word 'Awankari' was applied to the country the Awans ruled, viz., the regions east and west of the Salt Range. Its use was afterwards restricted, and to-day the exact place which is called "Awankari" tract is in and about the Talagang Tehsil in Attock District, to the north-west of the Salt Range. Even in the *Ain-i-Akbari* of Abul-Fazl (Akbar's reign), it is this tract which is mentioned as Awan Mahal, the place of the Awans.*

The Awankari tract is separated from the rest of the Attock District by the Sohan river on its north. It has the Salt Range on its south-east, the mountainous *ilaqa* of Makhad on its west, and the Gabhir stream on its east. It is a high-lying plateau, the whole area being scoured by the deep beds of numerous torrents and fretted everywhere by innumerable small ravines and gullies. The area is about 1400 Sq. miles and lies between 32°32′ and 33°8′ north latitude and 72°4′ and 72°34′ east longitude.

It appears that the Awankari tract has been a big jungle with plenty of arable land within, which accounts for feuds, murders, the system of hamlets and subdialects and mixtures of dialects. This country was out of the track of the invading armies of the Persians, Greeks, Scythians, Afghans, Turks and Mughals. The tract contains but few remains of archaeological interest. The Muslim rulers were never interested in this tract. None of the Sikh *misls* had their home in the country north of the Jhelum.

The population of the Awankari tract is more than 1,00,000 of which 52 per cent are males. The Awans comprise 83 per cent of the total population and 74 percent of the land-owning and farming classes.

Awankari Language

In the following pages Awankari refers to the language of the

*Tarikh-i-Alwi, by M. Hyder Ali Awan, P. 45; Census Report 1881

tract described above. This is the name of the language by which it is called by the people themselves. It is more or less a tribal dialect, sharing no doubt the peculiarities and common features of Lahndi as distinguished from Punjabi. Sir George Grierson (L. S. I., Vol. VIII, part I, pp. 450 ff.) thinks it to be a form of the North-Eastern dialect of Lahndi and connects it with Poṭhowárí. The following pages will show that it has closer affinities with Thalí, Sháhpurí and Dhanocí than with Poṭhowárí.

Sir George distinguishes the southern from the northern dialect on the following grounds—

(1) that **gʌchṇá**, to go, **ʌchṇá**, to come, are peculiar to the north-eastern, the south having **vʌ̃Juṇ** and **ávuṇ**, respectively. (p. 243)*

(2) that the north-eastern dialects use the pronouns **maĩ̃ḍá**, mine, **taĩ̃ḍá**, thine, while the southern dialects use **merá** and **terá**. (p. 243).

(3) that in the north-eastern dialect the pronominal suffixes of only the third person are commonly applied. (p. 431).

(4) that between the north and the south there are considerable variations of vocabulary. Some of the most important words are quite different. These words are **Jul**, go, **ghin**, take, and **hʌg**, can, in the north for **cʌl**, **lāī** and **sʌk**, in the south. (p. 431).

(5) that the south does not use the oblique terminations [e] and [í].

(6) that in the north the dative ends in **á̃** instead of **nú̃**.

(7) In the Salt Range Lahndi (i.e., N. E. dialect) there is a tendency to drop aspiration, as in **ḍil**, rock, **bárá̃**, twelve, instead of standard **ḍi^l**, and **bá^rá̃**.

Sir George Grierson further compares Awankari with the Southern standard and adds—

(8) For become, **ho** is used, not **thí**. (P. 450).

(9) There is tendency to omit the aspiration of sonant aspirates. Thus **bhí**, is equal to **bí** (also).

(10) **puttur** is equal to **puttr** (son) in Awankari.

(11) The future of **ákhuṇ**, to say, is **ákhsá̃**, not **əkhesá̃**. (P. 452).

(12) Awankari is fond of nasalization. (P. 436).

*The pages refer to "L. S. I.", Vol. VIII, part I.

I may at once assert that the above statements with the single exception of no. (5) are all wrong and therefore misleading.

(1) Awankari and Ghebí do not have **gʌchṇá** and **ʌchṇá**. They use **vʌ̃Juṇ** and **ávuṇ**.

(2) Multání, Thalí and even Sháhpuri employ **maĩ̃ḍá** and **taĩ̃ḍá**. In some southern dialects, no doubt, **merá** and **terá**, are employed, but they are loans from Punjabi. They are also common in some northern sub-dialects about the railway line.

(3) Awankari has pronominal suffixes of the 2nd and 3rd person and also in the plural number of 1st person. Absence of the suffix of first person singular only cannot detach it from the southern dialects.

(4) **ghin** is a universal Lahndi word. **Jul** and **hʌg** should not be allowed to become distinguishing features. We shall find a large number of important words differing in each village.

(5) It appears to be the only truth in the entire discussion by Sir George.

(6) Awankari employs also **ko** or **kõ** as the dative termination, Poṭhowárí uses **kí̃**, and Dhanocí has **-n < nú̃**. **á̃** is not at all a common feature of northern dialects.

(7) Grierson, unfortunately, did not notice the falling and rising tones in Waṇáḍhi and Reshí sub-dialects of Awankari. **ḍi^l** is **ḍi᷄l** and **bá^rá̃** is **bá᷄rá̃**, in Waṇáḍhí.

(8) Awankari has **thí** as well as **ho**, the former being more common.

(9) **bí** is from Skt. api- and therefore, is not a case of deaspiration. On the other hand, Awankari is free from what Grierson calls Dardic influence. (P. 235).

(10) The word **puttr** is wrongly recorded in Grierson's text of the Prodigal Son. Awankari has regular **[u]** sound in the penultimate position of such words.

(11) **ákhsá̃** is a new loanword from Ghebí or Poṭhowárí and is found in Reshí only. Awankari has **əkhesá̃**, **əkhesun**, etc.

(12) The nasalizated sounds recorded by Grierson are wrong.

The place of Awankari in Lahndi

Awankari is a mixed language. Its nearest relative is Ghebí

and then Dhanocí. It is true that if we take away [-dá] for Aw -ná and [ai] for Aw. [e] from Dhanocí it would remain just a subdialect of Awankari. Similarly southern Awankari is closely allied to Sháhpurí and Kacchí. Poṭhowárí is a distant relative. Grierson's wedge is arbitrary and it is absurd to couple Awankari and Ghebí with Poṭhowárí.

Every dialect of Lahndi is connected with its neighbours, and each shades into the surrounding dialects. Each dialect has also its distinguishing features. The existence of Awankari is not at all a problem (as it has been to Grierson). Awankari is still being attacked by Sháhpurí and Thalí from the south west and by Dhanocí from the east. Our political, social and commercial relations with Dhanocí speaking people are growing and a large number of Awankars have adopted Dhanocí forms.

Phonetic Peculiarities of Neighbouring Dialects*

Ghebí. Compared with Awankari, the distinguishing phonetic features of Ghebí are—

It has a more general use of the penultimate **[u]** than Awankari, as in **vekhuṇ,** to see, **puttur,** son, **ɴarum,** soft. In the Awankari area Awankars, in general, use this form, but other classes have **vekhəṇ, puttər, ɴarəm,** etc.

The use of liaison **[v]** is more common in Awankari. Compare Ghebí **deṇá,** giving, **áṇá,** to come, **cāul** or **col,** rice, and Aw. **devṇá, ávṇá, cávul.**

Aw. **[au]** and **[ai]** are generally pronounced as **[o]** and **[e]** respectively in Ghebí. Compare—

sāuṇ, to sleep, and **soṇ**
sau, hundred, and **so**
vai, oh, and **ve**
maĩ˜ḍhá, mine, and **me˜ḍhá.**

**The primary purpose of the following details is also to bring into prominence the salient features of Awankari phonetics which will be detailed in the body of the work. It may, however, be stated in advance here that Awankari is a dialect with fondness for high-falling tone, tendency towards full aspiration, clear cerebral sounds, particularly [l], love for full articulation of sounds and has an exceptionally strong stress. Comparatively, it is a very forceful dialect.*

In this connection, the following differences in verbal forms may also be noted—

Ghebí **páná,** puts, **páná˜,** I put, **rá^ṇ,** living, and Aw. **paĩná, paĩná˜, rāu^ṇ.**

Ghebí does not have cerebral **[l]** which is a peculiarity of Awankari.

The following shibboleths which distinguish Ghebí and Awankari are notable—

Ghebí	Awankari
do˜e, two	**do˜**
trí^o˜, three	**traĩ**
rupaĩ˜, rupees	**rupaie**
kive˜, how	**kĩ˜Je**
hive^, thus	**hĩ˜J.**

Anyhow, Ghebí and Awankari are closely allied dialects and there are more similarities than differences between the two.

Kacchí is a form of Thalí, the most extensive Lahndi dialect. It shows a strong preference for the palato-dental **[ḍ]**, which is unknown in Awankari. Compare—

Kacchí **ḍe,** give, **ḍá,** ten, **iḍḍe,** hither, **ḍú** or **ḍú˜,** two, **ḍeá˜,** tomorrow, **ḍáḍá,** grandfather; and Aw. **de, dá^, idde, do,de^á˜,** and **dádá.**

The palato-dental **[g]** and **[b]**, which do not exist in Awankari are also available in Kacchí. In this respect Kacchí goes with southern Lahndi dialects.

Kacchí does not use the open **[ai]** or **[au]**. Compare—

Kacchí **venaí˜,** I go, **vesú˜,** I shall go, **ve˜dá,** he goes, **xer,** welfare, for Aw. **vaĩná˜, vaĩsá˜, vaĩná,** and **xaĩr,** and Kacchí **Jo,** barley, **sorá,** father-in-law, **soṛá,** narrow, for Aw. **Jau, sāu^rá,** and **sauṛá.** Kacchí like other Thalí dialects is fond of deaspiration. Compare Kacchí **maĩ˜ḍá,** mine, **ḍek,** see, **ḍeá˜,** tomorrow, and Aw. **maĩ˜ḍhá, vekh,** and **de^á˜.**

Kacchí frequently uses **[r]** for Aw. **[ṛ]**, as in **kerá,** which, **pighár,** wolf, **kírá,** insect, **píri,** seat. Compare Aw. **ke^ṛá, pighár, kíṛá** and **pí^ṛi.**

[tr] exists as a conjunct consonant even in final position in Kacchí. Compare **putr,** son, **sútr,** cotton, and Aw. **puttur** and **sútur.**

Sháhpurí and Awankari differ more in phonology, grammar and vocabulary than in phonetics. Sir George Wilson's Dictionary of Sháhpurí language contains a very large number of words, especially the riverain terms, which are not available in Awankari. Phonetically, there is one remarkable difference between the two dialects. In Sháhpurí, the aspirated plosives are pronounced with a mild aspiration after the consonantal sound, while in Awankari they are fully aspirated. Compare Sh. **bhaṛtú,** a preparation of minced vegetable, **badko^**, ill-wisher, and Aw. **bhaṛthú** and **badkho^**.

Dhanocí does not have the cerebral [l] at all. Awankari [e] is usually pronounced as [ãi] and [o] as [ãu], though less frequently. This position is astonishingly similar to that between Hindi Khari Boli and Braj Bhasha. Examples—

Dh.	Aw.
bãir, jujube	**ber**
nakãi, nose (oblique)	**nakke**
dillãi vic, in mind	**dille vic**
ãiJhá, like this	**eJhá**
vekhãu, see	**vekho.**

Not only for Aw. [e] but also for vowels at times, Dhanoci has the distinct tendency to substitute [ãi]. Compare Dh. **vãiṇ,** to go, **karaṇ laggãi,** is going to do, **hãĩJ,** like this, and Aw. **vaĩJuṇ, karuṇ laggá,** and **hĩJ.**

The vowel [e], as in English 'bed', occurs in Dhanocí **ten,** to you, **men,** to me.

The cerebral [l] does not exist.

The Persian sounds kh, f, z, g have not become as popular as they are in Awankari. They are pronounced as **[kh], [ph], [J]** and **[g].**

The penultimate [u] does not occur. Dhanocí uses [a] instead.

The use of liaison [v], especially in infinitives, is absent in Dhanocí. Compare Dh. **kháṇ,** to eat, **deṇ,** to give, for Aw. **kházuṇ, devuṇ,** etc. Also note the absence of liaison in **viá^** (Aw. **vijá^**), marriage, and **sãiṇ** (Aw. **sávuṇ**), name of a month.

Poṭhowárí is not a neighbour of Awankari. But as Grierson has attempted to ally it with the former, a discussion of the

Poṭhowárí dialect is very essential.

Aw. **[ch]** is pronounced as affricate **[csh]** which sounds like **[sh]** to ordinary ears. Examples—

Poṭh. **cshoṛ,** leave	Aw. **choṛ**
cshe, six	**cheĩ**

The cerebral **[l]** does not occur in Poṭhowárí.

[kh] is commonly heard as [x] and so also [gh] as [ɢ]. There is more of over-Persianization in Poṭhowárí than in Awankari.

It is to be noted that Poṭhowárí is very fond of cerebralizing the [n] sound in non-initial position.

Poṭhowárí, even more than Dhanocí, sounds **[ãi]**. Compare Poṭh. **kãi,** what, **tãi,** and, **ákhnãi,** he says, for Aw. **ke, te** and **ákhná** or **əkhená.**

Aw. **[ãu]** is sometimes **[ãi]** in Poṭhowárí, as Aw. **rãu^**, stay, **bhãuṇ,** to stroll, **pãuná,** lies, are pronounced as **rãi^, bhãiṇ, páṇá** in the latter dialect.

Generally, Aw. **[ãu]** appears as **[o]** in Poṭhowárí. Compare Aw. **mãulá,** God, **rãulá,** noise, **ãukhá,** difficult, **sãu,** hundred, and Poṭh. **molá, rolá, okhá,** and **so.**

The low-rising tone for Aw. voiced aspirates is a peculiarity common between Poṭhowárí and eastern Punjabi. Examples—

Aw. **ghoṛá,** horse, **bháṛá,** fare, **dho,** wash, **ḍho,** carry, and Poṭh. **kᵥoṛá, pᵥáṛá, tᵥo,** and **ṭᵥo.**

On the other hand the use of the high tone is uncommon in Poṭhowárí.

Stress in Poṭhowárí is quite different from that in other Lahndi dialects. It is generally felt on the last syllable, as the result of which final vowels are distinctly longer than in Awankari, for example.

Linguistic Boundaries of Awankari

If we draw a straight line from north to south passing the East Gabhir, it will exactly divide Awankari from Dhanocí in the east and from Sohaĩ in the north east. Thus we find the villages of Dewal and Muthrala speaking Dhanocí and Sohaĩ respectively. The existence of Dhanocí in the villages of Nakka Kahut, Murti and Nakka Rihan on the Awankari side of the East Gabhir is

remarkable. The predominance of linguistic mixtures from Vanhárí sub-dialect or Dhanocí in the extreme south-east corner of Awankari (in the villages of Qadirpur and Bhilomar) can be explained by the fact that no natural boundary exists there between Vanhárí and Awankari.

As already described, the river Sohan forms the dividing line between Ghebí and Awankari. The villages of Dhok Pathan and Barwala, although administratively in Talagang Tehsil, are linguistically outside the Awankari tract. But the village Tráp lying across the Sohan is an Awankari speaking village. In fact in the north west corner Awankari has extended to Injra, which has been, for long time, the nearest railway station to the Awankars. Tráp lies on the road to Injra.

In the south there is no definite line. Although the Salt Range may be considered as the link between Awankari and Sháhpurí, yet on the Range itself there is a large number of villages of which some owe allegiance to one dialect and some to another. For instance, Jábá, in Shahpur District, is an Awankari speaking village. Most of the places on the northern side of the Salt Range speak Awankari mixed with borrowings from Sháhpurí.

The West Gabhir distinctly divides Awankari from Lamocí dialect of Thalí. The villages of Danda Shah Balawal and Lawa, however, speak Awankari. Both of them lie about the main road from Talagang to Mianwali. Seven villages near Lawa do not speak Awankari.

It is right to call Awankari a geographical dialect.

Awankari Sub-dialects

Awankari has three sub-dialects, namely, Waṇáḍhí spoken about Talagang in the east of the tract, Reshí in the north west about Tamman-Multan, and Pákhṛí in the south-west about Picnand. The Ankaṛ stream roughly divides Waṇádhí from the other two sub-dialects, although dialectical mixtures do exist, particularly in villages about the two sides of that stream. A series of forest-groves, locally known as Rakhs, forms the dividing line between Pákhṛí and Reshí. The position of village Camcá in the Pákhṛí tract is peculiar. It is an "island" inhabited by Pathans speaking Pashto.

The non-Pathans in Camcá speak a form of Awankari with mixtures from Pashto vocabulary and accent.

Map showing the region of Awankari and its sub-dialects.

Pákhaṛ means the tract near the mountain side, < Skt. Pakṣa-, side. It lies immediately on the northern slope of the Salt Range down the Sakesar Hill. The big town of the tract is Láwá. Reshí is named after the stream "Resh" which flows almost in the middle of that tract. Waṇáḍh is the name of the vast plain between the East Gabhír and the Ankaṛ. Talagang is the centre of the Waṇáḍhí Speaking area.

The main points that distinguish these dialects are given below—

I. Pronunciation

An outsider cannot very well feel that inspite of vast similarities between these dialects, there are points of diversity which clearly separate them from one another. Briefly,

(1) Waṇáḍhí has preserved Prakrit aspiration. Reshí on the other hand shows traces of Thalí influence and deaspirates sounds.

In the following words, for example, Reshí has dropped the aspiration—

Aspiration in Reshí is not altogether absent.

W.	R.
səbhá, make ready	**səbá**
cú˜ḍhí, pinch	**cú˜ḍí**
gutthí, pocket	**gutí**
əmúdhá, upside down	**əmúdá**
aṭhtálí, forty eight	**aṭtálí**
baghṇá, a string net	**bagṇá**.

Initial aspirates exist in all the three sub-dialects.

In Pákhṛí, the use of aspirated consonants varies among individuals. As a rule, villages near Waṇáḍhí employ aspirated consonants while those near Reshí de-aspirate them.

(2) The use of tone is more common in Waṇáḍhí than in Reshí. The same syllable is pronounced in Waṇáḍhí with a falling tone which starts in the middle register and falls suddenly at the end, and in Reshí with a rising tone which starts at a lower pitch and is sustained for a while before rising.

W	R
cá^ṛe, may cook	**cá / ṛe**
pʌ^ṛun, to read	**pʌ / ṛun**
shipá^í, constable	**shipá / í**
lá^˜, a rope	**lá / ˜.**

Pákhṛí speakers use both tones, the use varying with individuals and villages. Pákhaṛ is the meeting place of the two tones. As the result of this interaction, a new tone is in the making in Pákhṛí. It is shown below with [h]. I have discovered it in a few words.

P. **təlhá,** tank	W. **təlá**
əgáhə˜, further	**əgá^˜**
ləhene, descending	**lāi^ne**
vəhenen, plough	**vāi^nen**
nihāṇí, wife of barber	**niáṇí.**

(3) Reshí has a distinct tendency to reduce sounds. Examples—

W. **Jíkuṇ,** as	R. **Jí˜**
fāidá, profit	**fāid**
əsiḍḍá, our	**ʌḍḍá**
tudhá˜, to you	**tuá˜**
sāu, hundred	**sāi**

etc., etc.

(4) In this respect Pákhṛí also is a more modern language than Waṇáḍhí. Compare—

W. **Jitṇí,** as much	P. **Jitti**
ákhiá, said	R.,P. **ákhá**
Jhʌgṛá, quarrel	P. **Jheṛá.**

The more popular use of liaison in Reshí and Pákhṛí further establishes this characteristic of the two south-western dialects.

(5) Pákhṛí stress is very strong, which explains the chief fact about that dialect that it is full of loud and long sounds.

(6) Stress has also resulted in clear doubling of consonants in Pákhṛí. Vide the chapter on quantity of consonants.

(7) Pákhṛí and, more particularly, Reshí, avoid a number of diphthongs common in Awankari.

P. **gá,** went	W. **giá**
R. **ákhá,** said	**ákhiá**
P. **pighár,** wolf	**pighiáṛ**
P. **á˜,** we were	**āi^io˜**
P.,R. **Jí˜,** as	**Jio˜**
R. **gāi,** went	**gāie**
R. **hʌlle,** slowly	**hʌule.**

(8) With the above may be considered the fondness of Pákhṛí and Reshí for Liaison. Compare—

P. **áiá viá,** has come	W. **áiá oiá**
núrá ná˜ vus, his name is Nura	**núrá ná˜ us**
P.,R. **pʌvliáṇí,** wife of a weaver	**pāuliáṇí**
R. **nihāṇí,** wife of a barber	**niáṇí**
P.,R. **ḍívuṭ,** wick	**díuṭ**
leví, paste	**leí**
also **sərvesh,** gloy	**səresh.**

(9) A number of words in Reshí and Pákhṛí show how the two dialects are fond of Persianising or over-Persianising certain sounds.

P.,R. **vijá,** marriage	W. **viJá^**
P. **Guláb,** rose	**guláb**
P. **xətízá˜,** a name	**khətíJá˜**
P.,R. **beGuná,** innocent	**beguná^**
P.,R. **vʌxut,** time	**vʌkut**
P. **Gʌz,** yard	**gʌz,** or **gʌJ.**

(10) Some words in Pákhṛí have [ḍ-] for Reshí and Waṇáḍhí [d-]. They are, of course, loans from southern dialects of Lahndi, now spreading into Awankari.

P. **ḍeJkí,** kettle	W. **deckí**
ḍívuṭ, wick	**díuṭ**
ḍerí, delay	**derí**
ḍʌbh, a grass	**dʌbh**
ḍívá, lamp	**dívá**
ḍo^ṛá, couplet	**do^ṛá.**

(11) W. **ṭoḍá,** young of a camel, appears as **toḍá** in Reshí and

Pákhṛí and **ṭhuḍḍá,** staggering, as **thuḍḍá.**

They are cases of disimilation or decerebralization for phonetic convenience.

(12) **ví,** (also), is **bí** in Pákhṛí.

(13) **[ń]** and **[n˜]** are heard even singly in Pákhṛí and more so in Reshí, but it is not regular. The phenomenon may be a loan from some dialect. Compare—

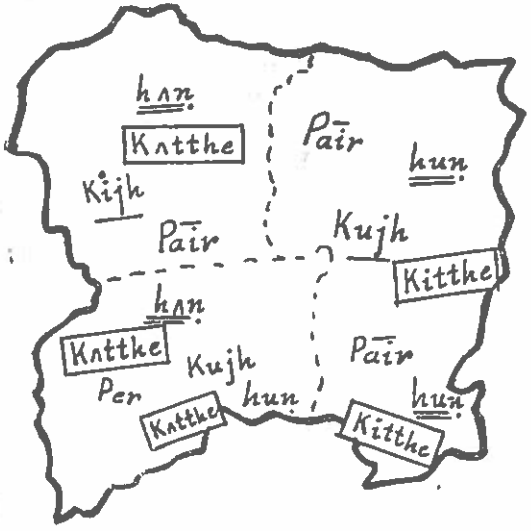
P.,R. **vʌńńá˜,** bangles	W. **vʌńgá˜**
Jʌn˜n˜á˜, marriage parties	**Jʌn˜Já˜**
ṭuń, tuck (v.)	**ṭuńg.**

(14) Pákhṛí **[e]** (in some words) for Waṇáḍhí and Reshí **[ai]** is a loan from Kacchí dialect.

P. **Jeḍá,** as much	R.,W. **Jaiḍá**
P. **hen,** are	R.,W. **ai^n**
P. **heve,** is	R.,W. **ai^ve**
P. **per,** foot	R.,W. **pair.**

(15) The following vowel-variations are also interesting—

W. **huṇ,** now	P.,R. **hʌṇ**
W. **kitthe,** where	P.,R. **kʌtthe**
W. **hənerá,** darkness	P.,R. **hənárá**
W. **kuJh,** some	P.,R. **kiJh**
P.,W. **lʌkṛí,** wood	R. **lukṛí.**



Geographical Distribution of some shibboleths

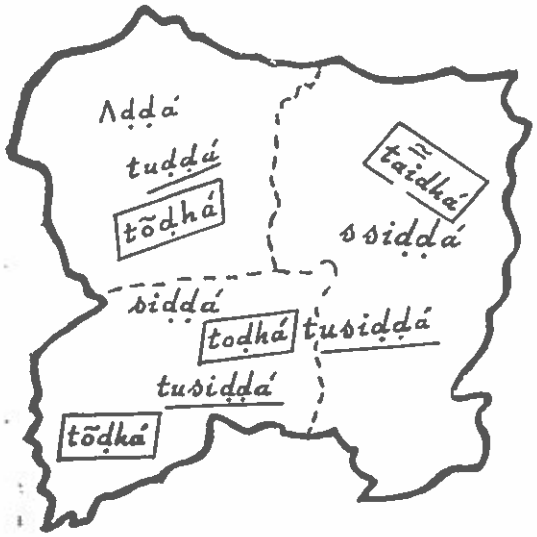
(1)

words for foot **(pair, per)**

„ „ *now* **(huṇ, hʌṇ)**

„ „ *some* **(kuJh, kiJh)**

„ „ *where* **(kitthe, kʌtthe)**



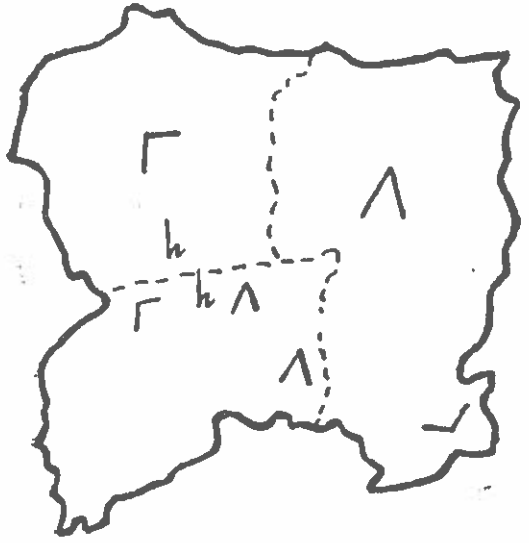
Geographical Distribution of some shibboleths

(2)

Words for our **(əsiḍḍá, siḍḍá)**

„ „ *thine* **(tai˜ḍhá, to˜ḍhá)**

„ „ *your* **(tusiḍḍá, tuḍḍá)**



Tones in Awankari Sub-dialects

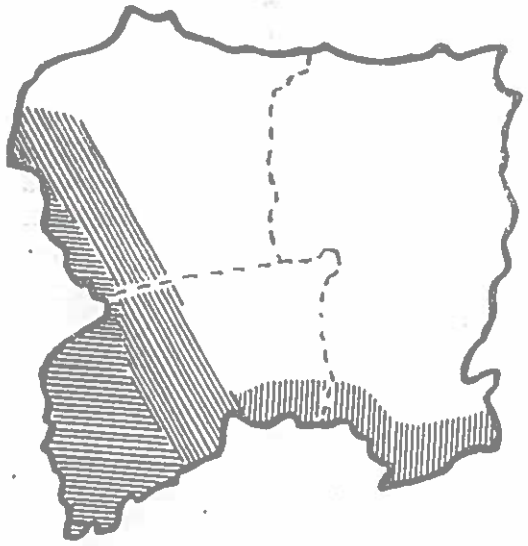
Γ *High Tone*

Λ *High falling*

V *Rising*

h *New tone*

Note that rising tone is beginning to attack from the frontiers.



Aspiration
(horizontal lines)
Clear deaspiration
(slanting lines)
Partial deaspiration
(vertical lines)
Aspiration after plosive
(blank)
Aspiration preserved.

II. Grammar—

There is not much difference in the grammatical structure of these dialects. The following points, however, are worthy of note—

(1) Pákhṛí and transitional Reshí (i.e., Reshí in the neighbourhood of Pákhṛí) use **ko** or **ko˜** postposition in accusative instead of the termination **-á˜** in Waṇáḍhí.

(2) The postposition **kol,** with, is added to the pronouns in nominative case in Pákhṛí, while in Waṇáḍhí and Reshí it is added to the genitive case. Compare—

P. **maĩ˜ kol,** with me	but	W.,R. **maĩ˜ḍhe kol**
tudh kol, with you		W. **taĩ˜ḍhe kol**
us kol, with him		R.,W. **usne kol**

ʌssá˜ kol, with us R. **ʌḍḍe kol.**

(3) The oblique from **Jo** (who, which) is **Jis** in Waṇáḍhí and Reshí, and **Jí** in Pákhṛí.

(4) The genitive case plural from **maĩ˜** (I) is **ʌḍḍá,** and from **tu˜** (you) **tuḍḍá,** in Reshí, instead of **əsiḍḍá** and **tusiḍḍá** respectively in Pákhṛí and **əsáḍá** and **tusáḍá** in Waṇáḍhí.

(5) In Pákhṛí and Waṇáḍhí **[e]** is infixed between the root and the present participial termination **[-ná]** in case of transitive verbs, while only **[-ná]** is added to the root in the case of intransitive verbs. In Reshí both transitive and intransitive verbs have simply **[-ná]** termination. Examples—

P.,W. **əkhená,** he says	R. **ákhná** (tran.)
P.,W. **bhiṛná,** quarrels	R. **bhiṛná** (intr.)
suṇená, hears	**suṇná.**

(6) Corresponding to the past participial ending **[-iá]** in Pákhṛí and Waṇáḍhí, Reshí has **[-á]** as in Hindi laṛá, calá, etc. Compare—

W.,P. **ákhiá,** said	R. **ákhá**
laṛiá, quarrelled	**laṛá**

etc.

(7) The conjugation of the auxiliary verb in past tense is very irregular in Pákhṛí showing mixtures of other Lahndi forms. Compare—

	Pákhṛí	Waṇáḍhí
First Person	**á˜, ʌ˜ás**	**aĩ˜io˜, aĩ˜io˜**
Second „	**aĩ˜io˜, aṃ˜˜**	**aĩi˜e˜, aĩ˜io**
Third „	**aĩəaĩ, aĩ˜**	**aĩ˜iá, aĩ˜e**

Also past perfect in 3rd person—

piá sá, paĩe se **piá aĩ˜iá, paĩe aĩe˜**

(was (were) lying)

(8) The gerundial postposition **ki** of Waṇáḍhí is **kʌṇí** in Reshí and Pákhṛí, as

W. **ghin ki,** taking	P.,R. **ghin kʌṇí**
„ **vʌ˜J ki,** going	„ **vʌ˜J kʌṇí**

etc.

(9) Respectful forms like **tussí baiṭhe o** (you are sitting) do not exist in Pákhṛí. They address in singular **tú˜ aĩṭhá˜,** thou art sitting. Plural form always denotes plural number in Pákhṛí.

III. Vocabulary—

The following vocables may be compared—

W.,P. **phuáṛá,** R. **mʌṇíá˜,** stock of corn
W.,P. **borá,** R. **səlítá,** sack and net
W. **kíkuṇ,** P. **kí˜,** R. **kive˜,** how
W. **phet,** P. **thet,** R. **ther,** a flat piece of stone
W. **há˜,** P.,R. **há,** yes.
R.,W. **cut,** P. **cuḍ,** female private part
W. **ə˜gúṭhá,** R.,P. **ə˜ḍúkhá,** thumb
R.,W. **nhá˜vuṇ,** R.,P. **dhávuṇ,** to bathe
R.,W. **nəpíṛ,** P. **ḍo,** squeeze
W. **uṭh,** P. **uṭhuṛ,** R. **u˜duṛ,** stand
W. **bʌ̄n^,** R.,P. **ʌJh,** sit
W. **tás,** R. **bádíá,** a cup
W.,P. **cəṭúrí** R. **máṭí,** an earthern pot
W. **sá^ṇkí,** R. **pheli,** an earthern plate
W. **leph,** R.,P. **síruk,** quilt
W.,R. **ukká,** P. **kətʌí,** at all
W. **ʌdhserí,** P. **pāī˜ṇí,** a measure
W.,P. **kʌṭví,** R. **kunní˜,** an earthern kettle
W.,R. **hudde,** P. **hudre,** thither.

miṭhái, is sweatmeat in Waṇáḍhí and Reshí, while it means pudding in Pákhṛí.

Pákhṛí is comparatively poor in vocabulary. It is known to us as a vulgar language.

IV. Phonological Variations—

From the observations above it appears that Reshí and Pákhṛí have preserved old forms in a number of words, as for example—

(a) R.,P. **kʌttho˜** is a remarkable preservation of Prakrit.

(b) P. **to˜ḍhá,** R. **tuḍá,** yours, preserve an ancient feature which is nearer to PI. tava.

(c) R.,P. **kiJh,** some, is nearer to Asokan kich(u), PI kím˜cit- than W. **kujh.**

(d) Reshí **hikkío˜ ʌkhío˜,** from one eye, is an instance of the old tendency to fully decline an adjective in oblique.

The following facts suggest that Reshí, as well as Pákhṛí to some extent, is a later dialect than Waṇáḍhí.

(i) Reshí avoids diphthongs by simplification as well as liaison

[-h-], [-j-] or [-v-].

(ii) Reshí has developed the tendency to drive out inherited **[h]** by further weakening the tone and by deaspirating consonants.

(iii) It further contracts or developes syncopated sounds, as in—

R.	W.
ʌḍḍá, our	**əsiḍḍá**
kí˜, how	**ki˜Je**
Jheṛá, quarrel	**JhʌgṛÁ**
tuá˜, to you	**tudhá˜**
oen, are	**hoen**
Jittí, as many	**Jitṇí**
ákhá, said	**ákhiá**
sāl, hundred	**sām.**

Awankari Vocabulary

The vocabulary of Awankari, as of any other NIA language, may be traced to six main sources.*

(1) Words of non-Arya n Indian languages.

(2) Words of original Skt. or P.I-A. origin coming through a slow process of linguistic evolution through MIA stage.

(3) Skt. words now revived in original, i.e., tatsama or in modified form (semi-tatsama).

(4) Words common to many NIA languages but not traceable to their earlier source, the Deshi words.

(5) Words borrowed at one time or another from other NIA dialects.

(6) Foreign words, including loanwords from Persian (including Turkish and Arabic) and English (including other European languages).

To the above may be added—

(7) Deshis of the dialect itself.

1. **NON-ARYAN SUBSTRATUM.** The Aryans occupied the Indo-Gangetic plain from the aborigines of whom the Dravidians were most important. It is presumed that the pre-Aryan element should

*Turner : Nepali Dictionary, Introduction, p. xiv.

be appreciably strong in our dialects. But the fact that the Dravidians were turned out completely from this land can account for the paucity of pre-Aryan vocabularies in our languages. Believing that words containing cerebral consonants were greatly influenced by Dravidian sounds, I sent long lists of such words to Mr. C. R. Sankran of the Deccan College & Post-graduate Research Institute, Poona, but was disappointed to know that none of those obscure words could be traced to Dravidian.

Dr. Kakati, in his 'Formation and Development of Assamese', has given a useful chapter on the Dravidian and Austro-Asiatic element in Assamese. (pp. 32ff). The following Awankari words may be compared to parallels in Khasi, Munḍa, Mundari, Santhali Mon-Khmer, Malayan and other non-Aryan languages.

Aw. **sem,** a kind of pulse, < symbai (Khasi), a pod
ḍú^gá, deep, < dong, a tube (Khasi)
cuttuṛ, buttocks, < syntai, hump (Khasi), cuṯ (Ass.)
láṭú, a spinning top, < láṭum, to fold (Mḍ.), láṭom (Khasi)
mʌ^ṛ, cover, < meṛháo (Mḍ.), √meṛhá, twist (Ass.)
soṭá, stick, < soṭá (Mḍ.), a stick, soṯá (Ass.)
bhoḍá, narrow forehead, < bhondo (Santh.), bhondú (H.)
ḍhibbá or **ṭibbá,** mound, < dhipi (Mḍ.)
bái, a female name, < bhái, ibhái (Mon.), sister.
Jʌlum, leech, < jelo (Malayan), leech.
págəl, mad, < gila (Malayan), mad.
ṭillá, mound, < til (Malayan), a mountain.

It may be mentioned here that Kakati is wrong to suppose that Ass. hunkari, Aw. **hoká,** shout; Assam. or Aw. **guṯgá**; and Assam. kala, Aw. **kʌllá,** have anything to do with non-Aryan languages. They are sound symbols and can be universally found. For further lists in Awankari vide Chapter on Onomatopoeas.

Similarly **mái** is a nursery word. Aw. **kimxáb,** Ass. kingkháp (brocade) and Awan. and Ass. **kʌd.ú,** (gourd) have been traced to Persian. Kakati derives them from Khasi and Munḍa.

In "Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India" Dr. Bagchi has collected useful vocabularies derived from non-Aryan languages. The following Awankari words may be compared :—

dʌmṛí, a coin exchangeable with 20 cowries **(kauḍi),** < kuḍi, twenty (Santh.)
gʌṯḍá, 4 cowries, < ganḍá, a collection of four (Santh.)

goṭí, a piece in chess, < guṭi, piece (Santh.)
nərel, cocoanut, < Skt. nárikela, < niyor (Malayan) and kolai (Tarang)
thun, mouth, < Skt. tuṇḍa, tnuḍ (Malayan), thno (Khmer), snout
bʌ^sí, stale, < basi (Mal.), bási (H).

There is a large number of words which were modified in Sanskrit and, therefore, for our purposes, they are Indo-Aryan.

2. **INDO-ARYAN ELEMENT.** The Indo-Aryan element is most predominant in Awankari. A Hindu employs in his speech about
60 per cent Indo-Aryan tbh. vocables
1 per cent tsm or stsm words
15 per cent Deshi words
20 per cent foreign loans
4 per cent words of obscure origin.

The above figures were prepared on the averages of four texts—two from Hindus and two from Muslims.

The importance of the Sanskritic element in any Indo-Aryan dialect is a question of wider study has been thoroughly discussed by scholars. The very fact that out of about 750 verbs (collected by the writer himself), hardly fifty could not be traced to I-A shows the predominance of the native element in the Awankari dialect.

The major part of the present work concerns itself with vocables derived from Sanskrit.

3. **THE FOREIGN INFLU NCE.** The vocabulary from foreign sources—mostly Arabo-Persian and English has been treated in the last two chapters. The Awankari tract was, perhaps, the first to accept the Muslim culture and the last to come across European culture. Naturally, therefore, Arabo-Persian influence is uppermost.

General

The speech of women in Awankari tract does not differ much from that of men in essentials. Their vocabulary of abuse is more copious. Vocabulary of one class slightly differs from that of another. Shopkeepers possess a number of words not commonly

understood by non-shopkeepers. The difference in the vocabulary of Hindus and Muslims is particularly remarkable. The following words used by Hindus are neither employed nor well understood by Muslims—

vʌrət, fast	**khetrí,** a specimen crop
cikhá, cremation ground	**bhugut,** dead
váshná, fame, smell	**kʌ̃Jká̃,** virgins
sirádh, a ceremony for the dead	**lává̃,** marriage ceremony
bheṭá̃, songs of invocation to goddess	**əmʌsiá̃,** new moon day
puruṇmáshí, full moon day	**ʌshṭmí,** 8th day
táiá, father's elder brother	**bhábhí,** brother's wife
etc.,	etc.

Most of these words are connected exclusively with Hindu rites and religion. Similarly many words of Muslim religion exist among Muslims only. It is very interesting to find that Hindus are familiar with Muslim words, but not so the Muslims with Hindu words.

There are pairs of words, the Hindus having derived theirs from Sanskrit and Muslims from Persian. For instance—

Hindus	Muslims
kəṛáˆí,	**hʌlvá,** pudding
viJáˆ,	**nikáˆ,** marriage
pʌch.á̃,	**nimáshá̃,** evening
vʌḍe-ele,	**fʌzrí,** morning
pi˜ḍá,	**Jússá,** body
pʌg,	**sáfá,** turban
shukər,	**zummá̃,** Friday
vírvár,	**zumerát,** Thursday
etc., etc.	

Some pairs are I-A in origin, but one form exists among Hindus and the other among Muslims, as

Hindus **Jháṛá,**	Muslims **vʌṭváṇí,** easing oneself
kunní˜,	**kʌṭví,** earthen kettle
kitthe,	**kʌtthe,** where?
nhāuṇ,	**ḍhávuṇ,** to bathe
gāuṇ,	**gávuṇ,** to sing
ʌkhe,	**Jʌṇe,** that

kʌssí,	**lʌghí,** easing oneself
kidde,	**kʌdde,** whither
etc., etc.	

lálá means a brother among Muslims and a father among Hindus. **bebe** means a sister among Muslims and a mother among Hindus.

In Pákhaṛ, Hindus say **máˆ˜** (to me) and Muslims **maī˜ko** (to me). Hindus say **kʌr ki,** doing, and Muslims **kʌr kʌṇí.**

The vocabulary of the literate people is richer than that of the illiterate. The literate generally employ more Hindustani words and even loanwords from neighbouring dialects.

Men of one profession are generally ignorant of the terms of another profession. While I was collecting such terms on the model of Grierson's "*Bihar Peasant Life*", I was astonished to learn that about 80 percent of the terms in various professions had never been heard by me before.

Agricultural terms in Awankari are very numerous. There is no sea, no river, no canal in the tract, and many of the words connected with these and used in the neighbouring tracts are unknown to the Awankars.

Awankari is not very rich in expression. One word is used to express a variety of ideas according to the context, e.g., the verb **vʌgná** in

hʌl vʌgná, the plough ploughs, **vá vʌgní e,** the wind blows
váJá vʌgná, the instrument plays, **vʌg vʌ˜J,** run up
khúˆ vʌgná, the well drives, **dáṇe vʌgnen,** grains leak
vʌṭṭá vəgá, throw the stone, and so on.

Awankari has about 1600 verbal bases. The number of adjectives is also inadequate. Of about 600 adjectives, I collected from an English Dictionary, equivalents for just 200 adjectives could be found in Awankari. There were about one hundred adjectives of the dialect which could not be exactly translated into English.

Awankari Literature

Awankari has no written literature of its own. There are some poetrical books of Lahndi in which Awankari characteristics are also noteworthy, but no work in Awankari alone is available.

There is a lot of floating literature which, if collected, will fill up a number of big volumes. Love-songs, ḍholás, máhiyás and ṭappás are composed and found in every village. Some of them contain beautiful sentiments, high imagination and fine colloquial phrases. We have got both male and female singers and composers of songs. Many songs have died and are dying unrecorded.

There are songs relating to every kind of ceremony. Marriage songs are particularly copious. Songs for various occasions during marriage days are different and they have technical names. For instance, **kámans** are sung seven days before the girl's marriage. **Suhágs** bestow blessings on the bride and **ghoṛiá~** contain good wishes for the bridegroom. **Siṭhṇiá~** contain abusive language against the other party. The people are very lively and they fully believe in the saying that 'all is fair in love and war.' **Vāiṇs,** recited at mournings and at funeral meetings have deep pathos and appeal. Hindus and Muslims have varying songs, prayers, hymns, etc. in beautiful Awankari language.

There is a large number of riddles current throughout the tract. Besides, there are numerous stories which are handed down to the younger generation from elderly people. Some have a long history. Awankari is very rich in proverbs and idioms. A good speaker will use not less than ten proverbs and idioms in five minutes' talk. Sometimes such proverbs, idioms and riddles are used to lighten or enlighten the talk, for they often create humour and laughter.

The Writer's Life

To be able to understand completely the phonetics of a language, the speaker's individuality is an important study. Language does not differ only in different areas but it is also different with different speakers. As the present work in all its essentials is a production of the writer himself, it is important to know how far his pronunciation is likely to have been affected by various influences.

The writer of the present thesis belongs to Talagang proper. His great grand-father migrated from village khabakki (Shahpur District) in about 1840. Khabakki is a village on the northern side of the Salt Range, at a distance of about 35 miles from Talagang, just on the border-line of Pákhaṛ. His grandfather Lala

Lal Chand Bahri was judicial commissioner, whose language must have received influences from Shahpur and Chakwal, as in connection with his judicial duties he had to move about on tours in these places. Talagang itself was a Tahsil of Jhelum District before 1904.

The father of the writer, Lala Gokal Chand Bahri, was a retired Field Qanungo. He lived for a long time at Dhaular, Saghar, Jhatla and Thoha—villages in Talagang Tahsil. Thus, most of his life was spent in the Waṇáḍhí speaking tract.

The mother of the writer came from village Multan which is the centre of the Reshí dialect. Thus, there have been strange mixtures in his speech of Pákhaṛí, Reshí and Waṇáḍhí dialects of Awankari.

The writer himself spent the impressionable part of his life at Talagang proper—for the first six years with his mother and grandfather, and the next five years with his mother only. His father could exercise influence only from 1920 when he left government service during the non-cooperation movement and settled at Talagang and the author remained under his constant care and guidance, being the eldest son, till 1925 when he had to move to Rawalpindi for college studies. The author spent two years at Rawalpindi and about six years at Lahore before commencing the work of compiling material for the present thesis. But it may be stated that he had a very few friends and associates at Lahore and fewer still at Rawalpindi, and they did not materially affect his language, especially because he kept regular contact with his home town which he visited very often and particularly spent the whole summer vacations at Talagang. Some change did come in his grammatical forms as persons from Lahndi-speaking areas have generally felt a sense of linguistic inferiority and wished to imitate Punjabi speakers in order to pose as more advanced and cultured people. But, as the formative period had been over, there was practically no effect on the phonetics of his speech.

The author has been, by nature, less social, less talkative and more conservative than an average person. He did not move out of the Waṇáḍhí speaking tract till the 16th year of his life, and when he did migrate to other places, he carried with him the dictum often quoted by elder people that a man may change his faith, his religious beliefs, but should never change his language.

A note of warning must be given. All that is included in this

work is not his own utterance. Much of the material collected from about twenty speakers at various points in the region has been retouched by him and given unavoidable personal shades of pronunciation, and a large number of his own vocables have been standardized with the help of rustic speakers.

I

SIMPLE VOWELS

I

SIMPLE VOWELS

1. Vowels as phonemes.
2. Articulation.
   (i) Front vowels
   (ii) Back vowels,
   (iii) Central vowels.
   (iv) Neutral vowels.
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I. 1. Vowels as Phonemes

Awankari has the following ten simple vowels—

í, i, e, ai, á, ʌ, au, o, u, ú.

To these may be added the neutral vowels **i, ə, u.** They serve as weak sounds, and are allophones of **i, ʌ, u** respectively. Generally they are so pronounced in unstressed positions—vide 'stress'.

ai and **au** are not so common as in Dhanoci.

The following minimal pairs have to be noted—**mil,** meet; **míl,** mile; **mul,** price; **múl,** principal (sum); **mel,** marriage guests; **mail,** dirt; **mʌl,** rub; **mál,** cattle, effects—**[i : í : u : ú : e : ai : ʌ : á].**

cuṇe, he may choose; **cúṇe,** bobbed hair—**[u : ú]**

polá, soft; **paulá,** shoe—**[o : au]**

til, sesamum; **tel,** oil—**[i : e]**

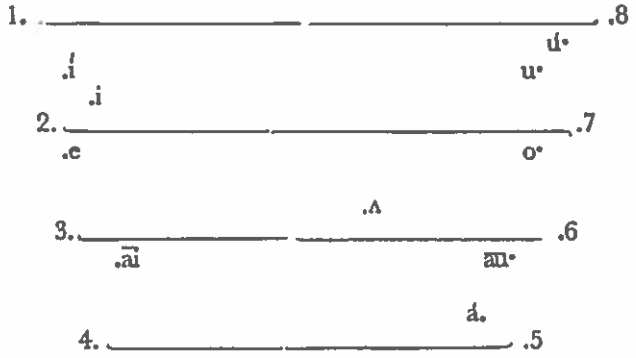
dhrik, drag; **dhrek,** a tree—**[í : e]**

súṭá, a smoke; **soṭá,** a staff—**[ú : o]**

huṭh, camel; **hoṭh,** lip—**[u : o]**

I. 2. Articulation

It will be desirable to compare in the following diagram the tongue-position for Awankari vowels with that for cardinal ones before an attempt is made to describe them in full.



All Awankari vowels lean towards the centre, i.e. front vowels lie behind the cardinal front position and back vowels are more

forward than the identical cardinals.

When stressed or toned, the Awankari vowels are generally closer than otherwise.

I. 2. i. Front Vowels

I. 2. i(a). [í]

[í] is situated behind the cardinal front position. The front of the tongue is raised and the tip appears to touch the lower teeth, though not very distinctly. The lips are unrounded. Awankari **[í]** is slightly opener than the cardinal vowel No. 1. It is obtainable in all positions of the words, initially as in

íd, the Id festival — **ín,** perverseness

medially as in

rís, imitation — **biṛá,** button

lír, a rag of cloth

finally as in

phú^ṛí, a mat — **beṛí,** a boat

dhí, daughter.

The number of words with initial **[í]** is negligibly short in the dialect. Final **[í]** in rapid speech is more like **[i]** than **[í]**.

I. 2. i(b). [i]

In the articulation of **[i]**, a portion (not the tip) of the front of the tongue is raised slightly more back than in the position for **[í]**, though the rise is comparatively smaller. Awankari **[i]** lies between the cardinal vowels Nos. 1 and 2, closer to No. 2 than to No. 1. It occurs initially as in

itṇá˜, so much — **itthe,** here

iṭ, brick

medially as in

mikh, marrow — **bhiḍ,** sheep

bhirá, brother.

[i] is not found in final position in Awankari, except in a few enclitics, such as **Ji,** that, **ki,** that, etc.

I. 2. i(c). [e]

In the articulation of [e], the portion of the front of the tongue is raised slightly more back than in the position for [i]. The lips are slightly spread. Like other Awankari vowels, it is a shade lower than the cardinal vowel. It is obtainable initially in a very few words, such as

eJhá, like this **ekáˌ** union
ehá, the same etc.

Medially and finally it is quite common, e.g.

mekh, nail **ḍere,** resting places
cetá, reminder **maĩ̃ḍhe,** mine
nikke, youngsters **dhiáṛe,** days
etc.

I. 2. i(d). [aĩ]

In the articulation of [aĩ], not only the front of the tongue, but the whole tongue, as a matter of fact, is raised. The lips are neutral. The lower jaw comes down and thus the mouth becomes wide open, especially in a word of address. E.g.,

aĩb, vice **aĩḍe,** so much
aĩrá, foundation **maĩl,** dirt
bhaĩṇ, sister **kaĩṛ,** care
traĩ, three **vaĩ,** 0
ḍhaĩ^, fall etc.

Words with initial [aĩ] are not numerous in the dialect.

I. 2. ii. Back Vowels

I. 2. ii(a). [á]

When [á] is articulated in Awankari, the front of the tongue rests low in the mouth and the back is slightly raised towards the soft palate. Lips are neutral and the mouth is flat and wide open, opener than in the case of [aĩ]. It is almost identical with the English vowel in calm. It occurs initially, finally as well as

medically, although in the final position [á] lies mid-way between [ʌ] and [á].

Examples—

ákhuṇ, to say **áruk,** elbow
ár-pár, across **bháṛá,** fare
báluṇ, fuel **nál,** with
Já, place **hochá,** mean
ḍolá, a kind of earthen pot etc.

I. 2. ii(b). [aũ]

[aũ] is a back open round vowel, a little opener than the English aũ, and more clearly guttural than [o]. The rise of the tongue at the back is higher than for [o], and the front rests low, a little contracted and flattened. There is some tensity in the lips, too.

Some observers find diphthongal value of the sound as they feel an [ʌ] before [aũ], but the single vowel is clear in the speech of rustic classes.

It occurs in all positions—initially in **aũkhá,** difficult, **aũtrá,** childless, **aũlíá,** sage; medially in **saũṛá,** narrow, **caũl,** rice, **caũrá,** wicked; finally in **Jaũ,** barley, **saũ,** hundred; etc.

It is found in stressed, unstressed, toned and nasal positions, too.

Examples—

məˈkaũṛá, grass-hopper **maũlˈdád,** a name
zaũ^r, poison **saũ^˜,** oath
baũ^, sit.

I. 2. ii(c). [o]

In the articulation of Awankari [o], the lips are rounded and protruded. The back of the tongue rises towards the soft palate. The Kahuṇí [o]* is closer and rounder than the Awankari vowel. The latter is more akin to the English [o] in 'door' and lies between the cardinal vowels Nos. 6 and 7. It is less common in initial position than in medial or final one. Examples—

*Dr. S. Varma: Lahnda Phonetics, p. 60.

I

oprá, strange — **oṛuk,** end
oḍhər, out of sight — **bolí,** dialect
coṇ, choice — **ṭokrá,** basket
bo, bad smell — **dhro^,** deceit

etc., etc.

I. 2. ii(d). [u]

In articulating [u] the portion of the tongue raised is more back than the position for [o], while the rise is also higher. The lips are rounded, but the cavity between the lips is narrower than in the case of [o]. Awankari [u] lies between cardinal vowels Nos. 7 and 8. It is, however, closer and more forward than the English sound in 'would'.

[u] does not occur finally.

Cf. **uṭh,** camel — **uḍárí,** flight
ushmán, sky — **surut,** sense
buḍ, drowned — **kuttá,** dog

etc., etc.

I. 2. ii(e). [ú]

In the articulation of [ú], the back of the tongue rises a bit higher than for [u]. The rounding of lips is greater than in the case of any other Awankari vowels, and the lips are tensely protruded. It is a tenser vowel than [u].

When it ends a word, its value is akin to that of [u].

Cf. **gokú,** span from thumb to first finger — **kurkṭú,** stone particles

mʌ̃gú, a name — etc.

Initially it occurs in a very few words, e.g.

úrá, a revolving frame — **údá,** violet.

Medially it is quite common, e.g.

búr, pollen — **cúcá,** chicken
púchəl, tail — **khún,** murder.

I. 2. iii. Central Vowel

[ʌ]

In the articulation of [ʌ], the portion of the tongue at the centre is slightly raised towards the soft palate. [ʌ] is often a subsidiary member of the phoneme [á], when it becomes difficult to say whether the centralized sound should be transcribed as á, ʌ, or ə. Compare—

kálá, black — and **kálá shá^,** jet-black

In **kálá shá^,** the final [á] of **kálá,** may be transcribed as á, ʌ or ə.

In monosyllabic words [ʌ] is clear. It is a distinct phoneme effecting semantic differences. Compare—

vál, hair — **vʌl,** creeper
már, beating — **mʌr,** die
páṭ, bed of a river — **pʌṭ,** uproot

etc.

It is the most common vowel in initial position. It also occurs medially in numerous words, but it does not exist finally. Examples—

ʌḍḍí, heel — **ʌstur,** lining
ʌṭh, eight — **bʌcṛá,** child
mʌmṭí, turret — **sʌplú̃gá,** young snake.

I. 2. iv. Neutral Vowels

Awankari has three neutral vowels: [ə], [u] and [i] which cannot be called independent phonemes by themselves. They are subsidiary members of the normal types: [ʌ], [u] and [i]; and often it is very difficult to distinguish between the two. They are articulated at the same positions as the normal phonemes with the difference that the action of the tongue is considerably delicate and these allophones are closer and very much shorter. [ə] is the clearest of the lot. In articulating [ə], the centre of the tongue is raised higher than in the case of [ʌ]. It occurs in unstressed position. Its relation to [ʌ] is so close that it is generally confused with the latter. Compare—

mʌre nʌ̃, may he die, and **mərená̃**, I beat
ʌJ, today, and **ə'Jokâ**, of today
ʌ̃gul, finger, and **ə̃gúṭh**, thumb
ʌgge, before, and **ə'gere**, further.

[i] and **[u]** also occur in pre-stressed or post-stressed syllables. Compare—

vis, poison, and **vi'sákhí**, a festival
hik, one, and **ik'tá^lí**, forty-one
nə'khidh, worthless, and **khi'ḍāuṇá**, toy
dushmuṇ, enemy, and **mu'thʌJ**, needy
suthuṇ, trousers, and **mʌṛud**, man.

As svarabhakti vowels, they never begin a syllable nor do they end one. Their main purpose is, then, to intrude between members of a difficult consonant group in the same syllable. Compare—

Hindi umr, Aw. **umər** or **umur**, age
Punjabi dhrik, Aw. **dhirík**, drag.

It may be noted that in final syllables, Awans proper use **[u]** and other classes **[ə]**. Compare—

dushmuṇ, and **dushməṇ**, enemy; **suthuṇ**, and **suthəṇ**, trousers.

I. 2. v. Distribution

Words in Awankari end either in a long vowel or in a consonant. Examples of vowels—

āirá, foundation	**ʌḍḍí**, heal
gʌbhrú, youth, husband	**bebe**, sister, mother
ḍhaī, fallen	**sāu**, **saī**, hundred
ʌbro, respect.	

The following examples will explain the distributional position of Awankari vowels—

ʌl, custom ; **vʌl**, creeper.
ákh, say ; **dákh**, grape ; **ākhá**, difficult.
iṭ, brick ; **liṭ**, matted hair.
ín, obstinacy ; **bín**, flute ; **nání**, maternal grand-mother.
uṭh, stand up ; **guṭh**, corner.
úrá, spinning wheel ; **bhúrá**, brown ; **márú**, fatal.

ekâ, unity ; **pekâ**, father's house ; **dhikke**, jolts.
āib, evil ; **gāib**, mysterious ; **bāī**, freehold.
olú, cistern ; **golâ**, bomb ; **tolo**, weigh.
ākh, difficulty ; **khāuṇ**, boil.

I. 2. vi. Nasal Vowels

Nasal vowels as distinguished from nasalized sounds are not common in Awankari. For nasalized vowels see I. 5.

The contrast in simple and nasalized vowels is, however, significant. Examples—

gʌd, first presents at marriage ; **gʌ̃d**, rubbish
bág, garden ; **bá̃g**, call to prayers
khiḍá, make one play ; **khi̇̃ḍá**, scatter
cíJí, sweets ; **cí̃Jí**, name of a village
buḍ, drown ; **bu̇̃ḍ**, buttock
lú, hot wind ; **lú̃**, hair
de, give ; **dė̃**, giant
saī, hundred ; **saī̃**, asleep
sʌṭṭo, throw ; **sʌṭṭȯ̃**, from the hurt
sāu, hundred ; **sāu̇̃**, sleep (imperative).

It may be noted that all Awankari vowels exist in their nasalized form as well.

It is also a remarkable fact that words with nasal vowels before unvoiced sounds are extremely few in the dialect. **kāu̇̃k**, partridge, **lāu̇̃k**, throb, are onomatopoeas ; and **shāu̇̃k**, fondness, **hāu̇̃s**, ambition, **āī̃cí**, inch, are loan-words.

It is a well-known fact that in the articulation of nasal vowels, the position of articulating organs such as lips, palate, tongue, etc., remains about the same, while the sounds escape through the nasal cavity. In pronouncing Awan. nasal vowels the position of the tongue is a little retracted. In this respect they may be considered as subsidiary members of the principal phonemes.

I. 3. Quantity of vowels

Vowel quantity is an extremely baffling thing to be distinguished by ear. Awankari recognizes four shades of length, namely, Svarabhakti (neutral), short, half long and long.

I. 3. i. Svarabhakti

Svarabhakti is the shortest vowel in Awankari. Its true quality is evident in rapid and normal speech. In isolated words it may be longer and then represented as the half close normal type.

[ə] oˆ baˆúˆ ḍərákul e (He is very timid).

[i] nikil geá, (Hindu speech), (He has gone out).

[u] nikul vaˆJ ittho˜, (Muslim speech) (Get out from this place).

It becomes extremely short in a pre-stressed position.

Compare—

nikul, get out, and **tiriákul,** a third party

putər, son, and **təráˆ,** dread.

I. 3. ii. Short vowels

[i], [u] and **[ʌ]** may be simply called short vowels. But they become shorter before a long consonant.

Compare—

phuṭ, crack	**phuṭːíˊ,** cotton
sʌt, seven	**sʌtːíˊ,** seven of cards
nik, shortness	**nikːá,** short.

They are shortened still further in rapid speech, especially in compound words.

Compare—

Short	Shorter	Still shorter
nik (shortness)	**nikːá** (short)	**nikshuk** (all things)
sʌt (seven)	**sʌtːíˊ** (seven)	**sʌt ʌṭh** (seven or eight)
mul, (price)	**mulːá,** (priest)	**mul mʌl vekh ke ghin** (price, etc., see and take)

In a toned position, they are shorter than the normal types.

Compare—

gʌl, talk	and	**gʌˆl,** cheek
kuṛ, onom. sound	and	**kuˆṛ,** fret
kil, pimple	and	**kiˆl,** to ease with force.

In a stressed syllable they become longer. In the examples above in **sʌtːíˊ** and **nikːá,** the first syllables have a greater stress than in **nik shuk** or **sʌt ʌṭh,** where the stress seems to be evenly distributed. Also compare—

mil, meet	and	**mil pāū,** go and meet
ghʌr, house	and	**JʌˆJ ghʌr,** house for marriage parties.

Before a stress or tone they are comparatively short. Compare—

sirmunːíˊ, girl with shaven head (endearment)

	and	**múˆˆsir,** face and head
dil, heart	and	**diválíˊ,** Diwali festival
muṛ, turn back	and	**murgáˆíˊ,** a water fowl, and **pushʌ́b,** urine.

Also compare—

vis, poison	and	**visáˆ,** trust
phul, flower	and	**phuláˆ,** a kind of tree.

In polysyllabic words, these vowels are shorter than in the monosyllabic words. Compare—

sir, head		
mun, shave	and	**sir munːíˊ,** (abuse in endearment)
zid, obstinacy		
zimdár, a zamindar	and	**zimdárníˊ,** a female zamindar
bʌd, bad		
rʌg, vein	and	**bʌdrʌgːá,** herald.

Short vowels are slightly longer before voiced consonants than before breathed ones. Compare—

lʌk, lick	**lʌg,** to be attached
lit, thorn	**lid,** dung
buṭ, closed	**buḍ,** drowned.

They are longer before and after aspirated consonants than before and after unaspirated ones. Compare—

buk, two handfuls	and	**bhukh,** hunger
lʌttá, clothes	and	**lʌthá,** descended
pʌṭ, thigh	and	**pʌṭh,** a young goat
		phʌṭ, wound

kʌt, season for dogs and **khʌt,** letter
kʌth, a medicine
cik, drive and **chik,** pull
suJ, swell and **suJh,** strike
dik, tuberculosis and **dhik** push.

The vowels are shorter before **[r]** and **[l]** than before **[ṛ]**. Compare—

pul, bridge and **puṛ,** stone of a mill
til, sesamum and **tiṛ,** show off
pʌr, feather and **pʌṛ,** rock.

A nasalized vowel is longer than its normal parallel. Compare—

rʌg, vein and **rʌ̃g,** colour
ḍik, bump and **ḍi̇̃g,** curve
puṛ, cover, slab and **puṇ,** filter.

I. 3. iii. Half long vowels

A scheme of the gradation of length of Awankari short vowels suggests itself as follows—

(1) in rapid speech
(2) before a stress or tone
(3) in a toned position
(4) before a long consonant
(5) in polysyllabic words
(6) in monosyllabic words
(7) in a stressed syllable
(8) before voiced consonants
(9) before and after aspirated consonants
(10) before **[r]**
(11) nasalized vowel.

In the last three positions, the quantity of the vowel becomes nearly half long.

Note.—In connected speech the quantity of Awankari vowels depends on the rhythm of the sense group. It goes with the expression of the emotion of the speaker. In a sentence like **bʌk nə kʌr,** do not talk nonsense, said in anger, **[ʌ]** of the first **bʌk,** which is stressed, becomes nearly half-long, of the other **bʌk,**

is a little shorter and of **kʌr,** a little longer.

I. 3. iv. Long vowels

[āi], **[á]**, **[o]** and **[ú]** are long vowels, though not quite long in Awankari. **[í]** and **[e]** are half long.

Final vowels in an unstressed syllable are shorter than the normal types. They are more so in polysyllabic words. Compare—

Half long in **íd,** Id, **dhí,** daughter, **bibí,** elderly woman
mekh, nail, **de,** give, **koṭhe,** houses

Long in **pāir,** foot, **Jāi,** victory, **JāiJāi,** a goddess
pár, across, **pá,** put, **bábá,** old man
oṭ, shelter, **ḍho,** carry, **rádho,** a name
súl, cholic pain, **lú,** hot wind, **tálú,** palate.

In a pre-accentual or post-accentual position, the quantity of long vowels is further reduced. Compare—

rám, Rama, a name — **rám shá^,** a name
hʌrí, a name — **hʌrí cʌ̃d,** a name
te, and — **te māĩ̃ ke kʌrá̃,** and what should I do?

In a toned position, the vowel is shorter than the normal type. Compare—

párá, mercury and **pá^rá,** watch, guard
polí, soft and **po^lí,** a thorny plant
pí, drink and **pí^,** grind.

Stress lengthens a vowel. Compare—

hár, garland and **bəhár,** season
cá, lift and **bəcá,** save
bāiṛ, string for the spinning wheel and **bərāiṛ,** cloudless
moṛ, turn and **məroṛ,** twist.

As in the case of short vowels, the nasalized long vowel is a little longer than the corresponding unnasalized vowel. Compare—

bí, seed and **bí̃,** seeds
bág, embroidered cloth and **bá̃g,** call to prayers
dāit, giant and **dāi̇̃t,** giant (doublet)
kúṛ, lie. and **kú̃ṛ,** a defect
cogá, food and **cȯ̃gá̃,** a kind of vegetable

I

le, mud plaster and **le˜,** mud plaster (doublet).

The length of the same vowel in the same position is greater in monosyllabic words than in disyllabic words, still greater in polysyllabic words. This is due to the conditions of stress. Compare—

dár, to, **zimdár,** zamindar, **zimdární,** zamindar's wife

loṛ, need, **loṛá,** a fit, **loṛáláí,** name of a place

phú^ṛ, a big mat, **phú^ṛí,** mat.

See also notes on "Stress", and "Syllable".

The long vowel which begins a word is generally longer than the final long vowel, which should be properly termed as half long; and the half long [í] and [e] sound somewhat like [i]. Compare—

Half long in **ín,** perverseness **ní˜,** of (fem.)
eká, union **eke,** union (obl.)

Long in **ákh,** say **khá,** eat
aish, enjoyment **shai,** thing
ol, hereditary customs **lo,** light
úṛá, first letter in Lahndi script **áṛú,** peach.

In rapid speech, all long vowels take the half-long quantity. The so-called long vowels are, in fact, never long in connected speech.

See texts at the end.

With the pitch, however, a vowel is comparatively long as [ai] in **koí maí˜ máriá?** Did I beat?

The higher the pitch, the longer the vowel in that syllable. See the Chapter on Sentence Intonation.

They are longer before voiced consonants than before breathed ones. E.g.

ḍoṭá, double, but **ḍoḍá,** pod
láci, cardamom, but **láJo,** a name
necá, faith, part of a smoking pipe, but **neJá,** a kind of nut
pípá, canister, but **bíbá,** a good person.

They are also longer before and after aspirated consonants than before and after unaspirated ones. Compare—

pál, line and **phál,** blade
ṭok, check and **ṭhok,** hit
ṭek, support and **vekh,** see
ákuṛ, pride and **ákhur,** mischief

odur, be sad and **oḍhur,** out of sight
bəṭerá, quail and **bətherá,** enough.

The vowels are shorter before [r] and [l] than before [ṛ]. Compare—

pár, across, **pál,** line and **páṛ,** hole
pír, a holy man and **píṛ,** pain
pere, parents and **peṛe,** a sweetmeat
mor, peacock and **moṛ,** turn
kúlá, tender and **kúṛá,** liar
vail, vice and **vai^ṛ,** (Reshí), calf (fem.).

The scheme of the gradation of length in half long and long vowels is as under—

(1) in rapid speech
(2) finally, preceded by a toned or stressed syllable
(3) finally, accented normally
(4) in a pre-stressed or pre-toned position
(5) in a toned position
(6) in polysyllabic words
(7) in monosyllabic words
(8) in stressed syllables
(9) before voiced consonants
(10) before and after aspirated consonants
(11) before [ṛ]
(12) Nasal or nasalized
(13) in a syllable with pitch; and so on.

I. 4. Closure and Openness of Vowels

Awankari vowels occur in various degrees of closure. They are arranged below:—

Close Vowels - [ú] - **púrá,** full
- [í] - **pírá,** a name

Half Close Vowels - [u] - **pure,** north (obl.)
- [i] - **pirət,** custom
- [ə] - **pəroká,** of the last year

Half Open Vowels - [o] - **polá,** soft
- [e] - **pe^lá,** (Reshí) ant
- [ʌ] - **pʌlːá,** cloth

Open Vowels - [aɯ] - **saɯṛá**, narrow
- [āi] - **pāir**, foot
- [á] - **pár**, across.

The normal phoneme occurs in mono-syllabic normally accented words. Examples—

[í] **dín**, faith, **píṛ**, pain, **pí**, drink
[i] **sir**, head, **mil**, meet, **iṭ**, brick
[e] **khes**, a kind of cloth, **ber**, jujube, **de**, give
[āi] **pāir**, foot, **sāil**, a walk, **shāi**, thing, **āib**, evil
[á] **thál**, plate, **bál**, burn, **vá**, wind, **ákh**, say
[aɯ] **Jaɯ**, barley, **aɯkh**, difficulty
[o] **bol**, speech, **hor**, more, **do**, two, **oṭ**, shelter
[u] **us**, he (obl.) **dukh**, misery, **buḍ**, drowned
[ú] **dúr**, away, **búṭ**, boot, **sú**, birth, delivery, **út**, stupid
[ʌ] **hʌs**, neck-bone, **mʌr**, die, **ʌm**, mango
[ə] **nə̃**, not, **tə̃**, then (in rapid speech only, otherwise [ə] is rare in monosyllabic words).

In disyllabic words the close vowels are opener, and half-close, half-open and open vowels closer than in monosyllabic words. Compare—

[í] **vír**, brother	**víro**, a name
[ú] **lúḍ**, endearment	**lúḍá**, endeared
[i] **midh**, crush	**midhá**, crushed
[u] **suk**, dry (verb)	**sukáṛ**, dry (adj.)
[ə] **nə̃**, of	**nəkhuṭ**, finished
[ʌ] **kʌr**, do	**kʌrẽ**, you may do
[e] **tel**, oil	**teli**, oil-presser
[o] **ṭor**, gait	**ṭoro**, see off
[á] **páṭ**, tear (verb)	**páṭá**, torn
[āi] **māil**, dirt	**māilá**, dirty
[aɯ] **aɯkh**, difficulty	**aɯkhá**, difficult.

Close vowels are closer and open vowels opener when they begin a word. Examples are—

[í] **ídú**, a name	**dínú**, a name
[ú] **úrá**, a kind of wheel	**dúṇá**, twofold
[i] **inám**, prize	**nimáz**, Muslim prayer
[u] **uJáṛ**, barren land	**Juṛá**, get joined
[u] **uḷṭá**, upside down	**luṭerá**, robber
[ə] **əka**, [illegible]	**kəma**, [illegible]

[ʌ] **ʌJJʌṛ**, flock of goats	**Jʌkkʌṛ**, press (verb)
[e] **eká**, unity	**kelá**, banana
[o] **ol**, practice	**lok**, people
[á] **ákhá**, saying	**kháJá**, eatable
[āi] **āi^ruṇ**, anvil	**vāi^tur**, beast of burden
[aɯ] **aɯkh**, difficulty	**saɯkh**, ease.

In final position close vowels are opener and open vowels closer than the normal ones. Compare—

[í] **pír**, sage	**pí**, drink
kirá, poor	**phʌkí**, powder
[ú] **gúgá**, a cup	**gokú**, span between thumb and finger
súl, pain	**sú**, give birth
[á] **párí**, a name	**pírá**, a name
mál, cattle	**má**, mother
[āi] **māĩ̯ne**, meanings	**māĩ̯**, I
bhāĩ̯ṇ, sister	**bhāĩ̯**, turn
[o] **kolá**, coal	**kálo**, a name
kor, who	**kʌro**, do
[e] **ṭheká**, contract	**koṭhe**, houses.

In a stressed or toned syllable, close and half close vowels become closer and open and half open vowels become opener than the normal types. Compare—

[í] in **pí**, drink **pí^**, grind, and **páṇí pí vʌ̃J**, water drink (and) go.
[i] in **kil**, pimple, **ki^l**, use force a and **e^ kil e**, it is a pimple
[ú] in **cúṛá**, bracelet, **cú^ṛá**, sweeper, **sʌ̃kh cúṛ**, a snake
[u] in **culí**, mouthful, **cu^lí̃**, fireplaces, **əṇmullá**, priceless
[ə] does not occur in stressed position; cf. **nə̃**, of, and **nə^̃**, not
[e] in **velá**, time, and **ve^lá**, vacant, **səvel**, early
[āi] in **pāil**, a place, **pāi^l**, first thing, and **o pāiná piá**, he is putting
[ʌ] in **pʌṛ**, rock, **pʌ^ṛ**, read, **pʌṛdá**, purdah
[á] in **ubál**, boil, **ubá^l**, hurry, **səbá^lá**, best-man
[o] in **goṛí**, reel, **go^ṛí**, ball of cotton, **ḍə̃^gorí**, stick.

In preaccentual or post-accentual position, close vowels tend to be opener and the open vowels become closer.

[ú] **núr**, a name, **núr 'dín**, a name

I

[í] **ciṛí**, sparrow, **ciṛí 'már**, a hunter
[u] **sukh**, pleasure, **su'khʌl**, ease, **'ʌṭkul**, method
[i] **mil**, meet, **mi'lāisí**, will make meet, **'nikil**, go out
[ə] **kə'lícá**, carpet, **ḍə'rákəl**, timid
[o] **cor**, thief, **cor'vá^ṇí**, a hiding place
[e] **me^r**, kindness, **me^r 'bhʌrí**, a name, **'xāirme^r**, all well
[ʌ] **mʌl**, rub, **mʌl'kál**, Maliks, **'mʌlmʌl**, muslin
[āi] **sāil**, walk, **sāil 'ghʌr**, pleasure house
[á] **rám**, Rama, **rám 'cʌ˜d**, Ram Chand.

As a syallable or word, an open vowel is opener and a close vowel closer than itself. Compare—

í, this	and	**vír**, brother
ú, that		**súr**, swine
á, come		**vál**, hair
e, this		**mel**, union
o, 0		**tol**, weigh.

In phrases of repetition and large sentences [í] and [ú] are opener and other vowels closer than the normal phonemes.

[í] **kí**, what, and **kí kí**, what what
bíbí ní dhí, daughter of the sister
í^ ví bíbí ní dhí e, She is also sister daughter.
[ú] **kúr kúr**, sound to call a dog
dúr ho kúṛiá, be away you liar ; and
kúṛá dúr í cʌ˜gá honá, a liar is better away.
[i] **chik**, pull, **chik chik**, pull pull
hik lʌt chik ghin, pull one of your legs ; and
cʌ˜gá kʌre˜ tə hik lʌt, if you do well (pull) one leg.
[u] **dhur dhur**, sound to frighten a dog
uṭh kuJh suṇ, get up, hear something ; and
uṭh putur tú˜ ví kuJh suṇ, get up, son, you also hear something.
[o] **do do**, two and two
do khote khol, untie two asses ; and
do khote khol ki hidde ghin áṇ, untying two asses bring them here.
[á] **vá^ vá^**, bravo
á lávuṇ cá khá, come and eat cooked vegetable
á ki ʌpṇá lávuṇ shávuṇ khá vʌ˜J, coming, do eat up your cooked vegetables.

4.

Pitch, stress and prominence are determining factors of closure and openness of vowels in connected speech. For examples, see the chapter on Sentence Intonation.

Nasal vowels are opener than their normal types. Compare—

[í] **sí**, cold	**sí˜**, cold (doublet)
[i] **chibhá˜**, skeins	**chi˜mká˜**, twigs
[ú] **súl**, pain	**sú˜ṇ**, name of a tract
[u] **buḍ**, drown	**bu˜ḍ**, buttock
[ə] **kəpá^**, cotton	**kə˜má**, earn
[e] **netrá**, thong	**ne˜drá**, subscription at marriage
[o] **golá**, ball	**go˜má˜**, a name
[á] **ává**, kiln	**á˜vá˜**, may I come
[ʌ] **trʌggur**, name of a village	**trʌ˜gur**, a thick net for straw
[āi] **bāiṛ**, string	**bāi˜t**, stick
[á] **páṭ**, tear (verb)	**pá˜ṇ**, starch.

Before plosive consonants vowels become opener and opener as we move from labials to dentals, dentals to palatals and so on. Compare—

[í]

Before labial in **pípá**, a canister
Before dental in **pítá**, drank
Before palatal in **pícá**, very small
Before cerebral in **piḍá**, hard
Before guttural in **píká˜**, funnels.

[á]

Before labial in **káp**, torn piece
Before dental in **vát**, mouth
Before palatal in **váJ**, voice
Before cerebral in **váṛ**, usher
Before guttural in **vág**, rein.

[ú]

Before labial in **súbá**, a name
Before dental in **lútí**, back-biting
Before palatal in **búJo**, monkey
Before cerebral in **búṭá**, plant
Before guttural in **gúgá**, a cup ; and so on.

Similarly after labial, dental or alveolar consonants, vowels are

opener than after retroflex, velar or guttural consonants. Compare—

[i] in **pír**, a saint	**tír**, arrow
cír, crack	**ṭín**, tin
kír, gold-seeker	
[e] in **belá**, hedge-grove	**telí**, oil-presser
celá, disciple	**kelá**, banana
[ai] in **pair**, foot	**tair**, swim
ṭair, pony	**kair**, care
[o] in **polá**, hollow	**tolá**, Tola
ṭolá, group	**kolá**, coal
[ʌ] in **pʌṭṭí**, bandage	**trʌṭṭí**, spoiling
cʌṭṭí, fine	**kʌṭṭí**, younger buffalo

etc., etc.

All vowels are opener before voiced consonants than before breathed ones. Compare—

[í] **bícú**, a nickname	**bíJo**, she-monkey
[i] **chikká**, a hanger	**chiggá**, bull having six teeth
[ú] **cúcá**, chicken	**cúzá**, young
[u] **buṭ**, closed	**buḍ**, drown
buccá, small-bearded	**buJJá**, stopper
[o] **ṭopá**, a measure	**ṭobá**, a diver
soṭá, big stick	**soḍá**, soda
[ʌ] **lʌk**, lick	**lʌg**, attach
lʌtthá, descended	**lʌddhá**, obtained
[e] **necá**, tobacco-pipe	**neJá**, a nut
[á] **sák**, relation	**ság**, a kind of grass
lihák, young camel	**liház**, regard
[ai] **sait**, time	**shaid**, perhaps.

They are closer before or after liquids, fricatives and semi-vowels than before or after plosives and [ɽ]. Compare—

	[í]
rít, rite	and **rís**, envy
	ríl, reel
	lír, rag
	[ú]
súṭ, suit	**súf**, a black cloth
hú^ɽ, obstinate	**húsh**, vulgar
kúɽ, a lie	**kúr**, call for a pup

	[ʌ]
jʌk, an abuse	**jʌx**, frozen
vʌt, again	**vʌl**, creeper
	vʌs, live
	[á]
bádiá, a pot	**báshá**, hawk
	bárí, window
	bává, a beggar
	[e]
peke, father's home	**peshí**, afternoon
	peve, cotton-seeds
	mexá~, nails.

Before [ɽ], vowels are opener than before other consonants (excepting aspirated consonants). Compare—

vʌɽ, enter	**vʌt**, again
	vʌg, blow, flow
troɽ, break (verb)	**troṭ**, break (n.)
laiɽ, quarrel	**laik**, able
píɽ, pain	**pík**, funnel
	pír, saint
mo^ɽá, village	**mo^lá**, pestle
ve^ɽá, courtyard	**ve^lá**, empty
kíɽá, insect	**kítá**, did
kʌɽí, beam	**kʌṭí**, young baffalo

but **kʌghí**, comb.

Before or after aspirated consonants, vowels are still opener than before or after unaspirated ones. Compare—

sák, relation	**sákh**, fame
dúr, distant	**dhúɽ**, dust
búṭá, plant	**Jhúṭá**, swing
	Júṭhá, touched
lík, line	**líkh**, louse
kil, pimple	**khil**, bloom
suk, dry (verb)	**sukh**, pleasure
kus, female private part	**khus**, torn
metre, chequered	**methre**, a seed
tʌp, fever	**thʌp**, pat
pʌttá, address	**phʌttá**, a name
kol, with	**khol**, open (verb).

I. 5. Nasalization of Vowels

Nasalization is one of the important features of Awankari as of other Lahndi dialects. It is significant, too, as we have already noted earlier.

Nasalization of vowels in Awankari may be (*a*) spontaneous, i.e., independent of any nasal sound in the vicinity; (*b*) dependent on a nasal consonant in the vicinity of the vowel; or (*c*) influenced by the nasal sound in one of the neighbouring words in a sentence.

Spontaneous nasalization as an historical phenomenon has been discussed at length in our *Lahndi Phonology*. Here may be mentioned certain phonetic peculiarities of Awankari nasal and nasalized vowels.

I. 5. i. Independent Nasalization

Short vowels do not have independent nasalization in Awankari.

Long vowels with independent nasalization occur mostly at the end of a word, generally as grammatical terminations which have to be explained phonologically.

áve˜, you may come
kuṛiá˜, women
kəresá˜, I will do
vicco˜, from within.

Sometimes nasalization is dialectical and is due to misunderstanding or semantic, grammatical or phonetic differentiation, as in

Jú˜, louse
dʌ^ī˜, curd
che˜, six
bhú˜, straw
sī˜, and **sī**, doublets for cold
bī (singular), seed, **bī˜** (pl.) seeds,
Já, place, **Já˜**, when
sáī, earnest money, **sáī˜**, master
sú, give birth, **sú˜**, onom. sound.

Independent nasalization in initial position is a relic of some nasal sound in the past. For details see the *Lahndi Phonology*.

Medially, too, it is either a relic or an attempt to naturalize a foreign word, as in

āī˜sh, luxury
ká˜pī, copy
hɯ˜slá, fortitude
lāī˜s, lace.

I. 5. ii. Dependent Nasalization

When a vowel is followed by a nasal consonant in the same syllable or in another unstressed syllable of the word, it must become nasalized. Examples—

rʌ˜n, wife — but **rumáli**, a cloth
rī˜ḍ, a louse — but **bimár**, ill
khá˜ṇ, mine
səbú˜ṇ, soap
həkī˜m, physician
vāī˜ṇ, mourning utterings.

Regressive nasalization is compulsory. Progressive nasalization of medial vowels is not a regular occurrence in Awankari.

Progressive nasalization of a final vowel preceded by a nasal consonant is quite regular in unstressed or normally stressed polysyllabic words.

kʌṇiá˜, drops
táṇe˜, warps
hərá˜mī˜, bastard
so˜ná˜, gold
má^mú˜, a name.

But when the final syllable containing a nasal consonant is stressed, nasalization does not take place; as in

məná, console **kəmá**, earn **suṇá**, tell.

The final vowel is here lengthened and is heard considerably apart from the consonant. It has, so to say, avoided the consonant and its influence. Or, we can say that the vowel is more prominent than the consonant.

At the end of a monosyllabic word, the vowel is not always nasalized; as in **náī**, barber; **má**, mother.

But these are irregular words. They have been affected by some semantic differentiation. The regular phenomenon is still the same. Compare **nʌ^ī˜**, no; **nāɯ^˜**, nail; **nī˜**, 0; **nāɯ˜**, nine; **nə˜**, of; **mú^˜**, mouth; **mī^˜**, rain.

It follows that when the vowel is less prominent than the consonant in normally stressed words or syllables, it is nasalized in the

vicinity of a nasal consonant.

When a word begins with a nasal consonant and there is no other nasal consonant in it, the vowel following it is not nasalized except in some historical or borrowed words. In this position, again, the vowel is quite prominent. We have already noted this fact in the Sections on quality and quantity of vowels. Examples—

mʌc, kindle	**nʌs,** run away
mʌJh, buffalo	**nákh,** pear
mʌgh, opening	**niJ,** not
mál, cattle	**nílá,** blue
mes, pretence	**nisrí,** sugar
máṛá, bad	**nihʌtthá,** armless
mevá, fruit	**neṛe,** near
muJhákhrá, early dawn	**musʌllí,** sweeper

but

mʌ̃mṭí, turret	**nʌ̃mdá,** felt
mʌ̃niárí, merchandise	**ní̃má̃,** a garment
mẽmṇá̃, flatterer	**ná̃nke,** mother's parents
má̃dá, about to die	**nẽdrá,** subscription at wedding
muhá̃drá, face.	

I. 5. iii. Syntactical Nasalization

Nasalization of a vowel in a word due to the influence of nasalized sound or sounds in the neighbouring word is called syntactical nasalization. It occurs in connected speech. Compare—

(1) **nʌ^ĩ̃ vaĩná̃,** he does not go; **o^ vaĩná,** he goes.

(2) **maĩ̃ ví̃ vaĩsá̃,** I will also go
á ví sʌ^ĩ, come then.

(3) **tú̃ ĩ̃ bhaĩṛá̃,** you alone are bad
ghʌr ĩ bhaĩṛá, the house alone is bad.

(4) **maĩ̃ko dʌs,** tell me; **maĩ̃kõ áṇ de,** fetch it to me.

Here, too, nasalization falls on a weakened word or syllable.

II

DIPHTHONGS

II

DIPHTHONGS

1. Enumeration.
2. Nasal Diphthongs.
3. General Nature.
4. Glide in Diphthongs.
5. Quantity of Diphthongs.
6. Treatment of some Common Diphthongs.

II. 1. Enumeration

There are no less than forty-one diphthongs in Awankari. In this respect it is one of the richest dialects of India. It is yet to be discovered as to which is *the* richest dialect. Mr. H. S. Joshi has enumerated as many as fifty diphthongs in Kumayuni*.

The following are Awankari diphthongs—

[əí]— as in **əí nəí,** everyone
[ʌí]— **ʌ^í,** was, **kʌ^í,** spade
[ʌe]— **pʌe,** lying
[ʌú]— **gʌú,** cow
[ái]— **nái,** barber

*"*Study of Phonetics and Phonology of Kumayuni*" (*Still in MS*) 62-113.

[áe]— **máe,** O mother
[áo]— **uḍáo,** fly
[áə]— **mʌṛdáˆə,** to men
[áú]— **kháú,** eater
[íú]— **bhəˆṛíá,** brother-in-law (sister's husband)
[íi]— **tríi,** third (fem.)
[ío]— **Jío,** live
[íú]— **píú,** O father
[íu]— **síuṇá,** to sew
[íe]— **kuṛíe,** O woman
[eá]— **bhəˆṛeá,** nephew (sister's son)
[eí]— **mʌtreí,** step-mother
[eo]— **deo,** give
[eú]— **seú,** apple
[ee]— **dee,** if he gives
[eu]— **deuṇ,** giving
[āío]— **gāío,** have you gone ?
[āíe]— **gāíe,** they have gone
[iá]— **dhiáṛá,** day
[io]— **ghio,** purified butter
[iu]— **ákhius,** he said to him
[oá]— **vʌlṭoˆá,** a metal pitcher
[oe]— **coe** (oblique), leakage
[oí]— **moí,** dead (fem.)
[oú]— **roú,** one about to weep
[uá]— **duá,** prayer
[úá]— **súá,** a big needle
[úí]— **súí,** a small needle
[úe]— **mákhúe** (oblique), honey
[úo]— **bhúo,** O aunt.

Of the above, the following also occur as words by themselves—

[ao]— come
[áí]— (she) came
[áe]— (they) came (masc.)
[ʌˆí]— (she) was
[íˆá]— this very
[úˆá]— that very
[eˆá]— (he) was
[oˆá]— the same (masc.)

[oe]— O !
[āíˆe]— (they) were.

II. 2. Nasal Diphthongs

Almost all Awankari diphthongs have their nasal form also. As concomitants of consonants, i.e., as nasalized diphthongs, they behave like simple vowels. For detailed observations see I. 5. Compare—

[əí]—**əí nəˆí áˆ,** to everybody	**əí nəí,** everybody
[ʌí]—**nʌˆíˆ** or **nʌíˆ,** no, **shʌíˆ,** things	**pʌí,** lying (fem.)
[ʌe]—**ḍhʌeˆn,** they were given	**ḍhʌe,** were given
[ʌú]—**cʌúˆ,** crying, **vətʌúˆ,** brinjal	**hʌú,** exclamation used for frightening
[áí]—**máíˆ,** a medicinal fruit, **kidáíˆ,** somewhere	**máí,** woman
[áe]—**háeˆ,** heart (oblique]	**háe,** Ah
[áo]—**bháoˆ,** a name (address)	**kháo,** eat
[áú]—**káúˆ,** nickname of a person	**vikáú,** for sale
[íá]—**dhíáˆ,** daughters, **mʌJhíáˆ,** buffaloes	**thíá,** was
[íi]—**tríiˆ,** third (pl.)	**tríi,** third (fem. sing.)
[ío]—**bʌdíoˆ,** from evil	**buḍhío,** O old women
[íú]—**píúˆ,** gnat	**dhíú,** daughter (oblique)
[ie]—**míeˆ,** the priest (oblique); **síeˆ,** cold (oblique)	**ḍhíe,** clumsy cakes of bread
[eá]—**geáˆ,** by going, **deáˆ,** to-morrow	**geá,** (he) went
[eí]—**seíˆ,** may I make wet ?	**deí,** a name (f.)
[eo]—**geoˆ,** you went	**deo,** demon
[eú]—**seúˆ,** apples	**deú,** giver
[eu]—**peuˆd,** grafting	**deur,** husband's younger brother

II

[iá]—**vidiá˜**, farewell, **piárá**, dear
kiriá˜, death rites
[io]—**kio˜**, why **pio**, father
[oá]—**boá˜**, smell (pl.) **ḍhoá**, gift
[oe]—**do^e˜**, both **ṭo^e** (Reshi), pits
[oí]—**xushboí˜**, good smell **loí**, blanket
(pl.)
[uá]—**huá˜guṇ**, to howl, **kuárá**, bachelor
Juá˜n, young
[úá]—**Júá˜**, lice, **bhúá**, father's sister
dhúá˜, smoke
[úí]—**lúí˜**, soft hair **khúí**, a small well
[úe]—**trú^e˜ trú^e˜**, bit by **əṛúe**, temporary structures
bit
[úo]—**bú^o˜**, from the door- **bhúo**, aunt (in contemptuous
way term).

The following nasal diphthongs are rare :—

[ʌe], [iá], [iú], [uá], [ĩe], [oú] and [ĩo].

In the case of rising diphthongs it is clearly the final element that is nasal, the first element being partly so at the end.

The two elements of falling diphthongs are evenly nasal.

In the case of even diphthongs, it is difficult to locate nasality, which lies at the end of the first and in the beginning of the second element.

For examples see above.

It may be noted in all diphthongs that nasality makes the nasal element more prominent. That is why falling nasal diphthongs become even.

II. 3. General Nature

Awankari diphthongs are not all clear and it becomes often difficult to determine whether they are genuine diphthongs or two separate vowels. Dr. S. Varma has thoroughly discussed the question in his "*Phonetics of Lahnda*"; and I agree with him to take them as diphthongs. The difference will be clearly noticeable in the following :—

(1) **dáí áí e,** The nurse has come
dá -í lájás, He has surely played a trick

(2) **váú kolo˜ hʌṭ,** Keep away from wind
vá ú cʌ˜gí honí˜ e, That wind is good

(3) **pío,** drink (imperative)
pí-o, O drink (address).

Diphthongs may be rising, falling or even. Generally, the determining factor is prominence or intensity of the elements. The prominence may be due to the quantity of that element or stress on that element.

(1)

A diphthong is rising, (a) when the first element is short and the second element long, e.g., [ʌe], [uá], [iú], [io], as below—

gʌe, gone
ghio, ghee
duá, prayer
piú˜, gnat

(b) When the second element is stressed, e.g.,

niárá, bier **duání,** 2-anna coin

etc.

(2)

It is a falling diphthong, (a) when the first element is longer than the second, e.g., **ḍháí,** 2-1/2.

súí, needle
páo, put

(b) When the first element is stressed, e.g.,

kí^á (of what sort)
vʌ^í (account book).

(3)

An even diphthong is that of which each element has an equal prominence or acoustic effect : the difference of perceptibility between the first and the second element is not very striking ; e.g.,

ákhius (he said to him).

The following is the classification of diphthongs under this head—

II

Rising Diphthongs	Falling Diphthongs	Even Diphthongs
ʌe	ʌ́i	ʌú úe
eú	áí	íá úo
e͞aí @	áe	íí
íá	á͞aí	íú
io	áo	íu
iú	áə	íe
uá	áú	ei
eá	íá (stressed)	eo
əí	í͞aí	ee
	ío	a͞iá
	eu	a͞io
	a͞ie	oá
	úá	oe
	úí	oí
	úo	oú

Some falling and even diphthongs stand as verbs by themselves. Vide the list above. Rising diphthongs, however. are never found as single words.

Diphthongs in Awankari are never used with a low tone.

In high-toned diphthongs, the prominence of the first element is far higher than that of the other, e.g.,

cáˆíná, it is required	
kʌˆí͞, someone (oblique)	**bʌˆú͞,** much
nʌˆí͞, no	**beˆá,** stale
doˆe͞, both	**ráˆe,** way (oblique)
a͞iˆe, were (they) etc.,	etc.

It is a notable fact that tone occurs on the first element of a diphthong*.

Awankari diphthongs seldom begin a word. They are generally medial or terminational vowels. In their medial position they lose their strict diphthongal quality; a faint glide is then heard between the two elements. Compare—

ḍheá, got	**ḍheás,** he has got
cəlíˆe, 40th day (oblique)	**cəlíˆec,** during 40 days
súí, needle	**súíc,** in the needle.

*See the next Section on Glides.

6.

Generally the diphthongs are the result of the combination of the final vowel of a word and the initial vowel of a grammatical termination. Examples are:

Infinitives in—

ḍhí, ḍhíuṇ, to get
de, deuṇ, to give
khá, kháuṇ, to eat
dho, dhouṇ, to wash ; etc., etc.

The termination **-á͞**, **-í͞**, denoting plural number in

dhí, daughter	**dhiá͞,** daughters
gá͞, cow	**gái͞,** cows
bɔ, smell	**boí͞,** smells.

Case terminations:

koṭhá, koṭheá͞, to houses
dhí, dhíú, daughter (oblique) or, daughter (voc.)
má, máú, máe, O mother
phʌtí, phʌtíe, O Phati, a name, etc., etc.

Verbal terminations:

məʀʌˆú͞, may I beat you
məʀsáˆí͞, (Reshi) I shall beat you
gʌí, (she is) gone
geá, (he is) gone
ḍhəíná, is taken
dhoe͞, you may wash
ḍhíá, obtained.

Similarly feminine suffixes and pronominal affixes make diphthongs with final vowels of stems.

Some diphthongs have to be explained phonologically. They are the result of consonantal modifications and extinctions. The subject has been treated at its proper place in the "*Lahndi Phonology*". Examples are:

suniárá, goldsmith	**bhə͞ṛeá,** sister's son
síuṇá, sewing	**kuárí,** virgin
kháú, eater	**Júá,** gambling
mʌtreí, step-mother	**Jəváí,** son-in-law
súí, needle	**tríá,** third.

Most of the Awankari diphthongs are easily uttered by all the speakers. In some, however, the liaison **[h], [v]** or **[j]** is inserted between the two elements by the backward people, diphthongs being

more difficult than simple vowels. Compare—

ḍhíuṇ	and	**ḍhívuṇ,** to get
deuṇ	and	**devuṇ,** to give
niáṇí (Wan.)	and	**nihánṇí,** (Reshi) barber's wife
siárá	and	**sihárá,** a drill
tiár	and	**tijár,** ready.

See also Section on "Liaison."

It has been found that the diphthongs with [á], [í], [o] and [ú] are more common than others.

Further lists are given in II. 6.

Diphthongs with both elements short are irregular and occasional diphthongs.

Diphthongs with both elements homorganic are rare. The only examples are :—

[íí], [ee] and [oo], as in
tríí, the third (f.)
dee, if he gives
roo, weep (imp.); etc.

Diphthongs with [āi] as one of the elements also occur only sporadically :

[āie] in **gāie,** (they) went
rāi^e, (they) remained
[əāi] in **pəāiṇí,** a measure
etc., etc.

It will be observed that in the articulation of Awankari diphthongs, the tongue always tries to shorten the distance between the initial and the final elements.

[í], [i] [e] or [āi] in a diphthong is more back than the parallel front vowel, particularly when the other member of the diphthong is [á], [ʌ], [ə], [o], [u] or [ú], which again is more forward than the corresponding back vowel.

Compare examples in II. 6

The following are the narrow diphthongs in Awankari :

[áo], [áə], [íí], [íe], [eí], [ee], [āie], [oá], [uá], [úá], [oo] and [úo].

The width between the two positions of other diphthongs is sufficiently narrowed, but it is safe to call them wide diphthongs.

II. 4. Glide in Diphthongs

In the articulation of some diphthongs, a faint glide either with [j] sound or [v] sound is heard between the two positions of the elements. The ideal diphthong is one between the elements of which absolutely no glide is heard.

Narrow diphthongs are the clearest diphthongs, the transition from one element to another being very immediate. They are arranged below in the order of purity :

[oo] **dhoo,** wash (imp.)
[ee] **see,** were drenched
[íí] **dhíí,** the daughter alone
[áo] **kháo,** eat (imp.)
[eá] **khoteá˜,** asses (obl.)
[uá] **duá,** prayer
[āie] **gāie,** went
[oá] **coá,** leakage
[úo] **bhúo,** aunt (in contemptuous term)
[íe] **dhíe,** O daughter
[úá] **bhúá,** aunt (father's sister)
[áú] **bhiráú,** brother (obl.).

The last group is, no doubt, on the suspicious line, the distance between the two elements being slightly more than in former cases and [í] and [ú] also requiring support for continuity.

Note the conditions of glide below—

The central [ə] and the half-central [ʌ] easily adapt themselves to any combinations; and such diphthongs are quite pure. Approachability is a great determining factor.

[áə] noted above	[əí] **ḍhəí,** obtained
[ʌe] **gʌe,** went	[ʌú] **cʌú˜,** crying
[əú] **dəús,** devil	[ʌí] **shʌí,** thing (obl.).

The last group is again on the suspicion line for reasons noted above.

From amongst the wide diphthongs, those without [i], [í], [u] and [ú] as one of the elements have the faintest shade of glide. Compare—

[eá] **leá,** soil, an insect	[eo] **deo,** demon
[áe] **máe,** O mother	[āiá] **gāiá,** he went (Pákhṇí)
[oe] **soe,** Soya beans	[āio] **gāio,** you have gone („).

[á] and [e] are more closely adaptable than [o] and [e].

But in a toned position, these and other suspicious diphthongs become clear. Compare—

səne^á, message	**mi^e˜,** rain (obl.)
sá^e, hares	**ḍhú^á,** buttock
go^e, dung cakes	**Jhá^ú,** hog-like
de^o˜, the sun	**nə^í˜,** not
be^í, stale	**bʌ^ú˜,** much
vʌ^í, account book.	

In rapid speech, and more so in repetition and in succession, all the above diphthongs are clear.

Note the diphthongs in the specimens of rapid speech given in the appendix.

Examples of repeated and successive diphthongs are—

háe háe, alas

roe dhoe, may cry (intensive)

máú dhíú, the mother and the daughter (obl.)

lʌú˜ lʌú˜, itching pain

mie˜ dhúá˜ páiá, the Mian put smoke.

In cases where [i], [í], [u] or [ú] is one of the elements, excepting those explained above, a [j] or [v] glide is, indeed, heard.

It is appreciably faint in [iá], [iu], [eu] and [uá], where the [i] or [u] is short and the other element is neither long [í] nor long [ú]; because perhaps greater energy is required for the articulation of long elements and they require the support of a faint glide.

[iu] ákhius, he said to him	**[uá] ruá,** make weep
[já] dhiáṛá, day	**[eu] deuṇ,** to give.

As hinted above, [í] or [ú] coupled with a suitable vowel is particularly a favourable condition for the occurrence of a glide. [j] is heard before and after [í] when coupled with [á] or [e]; and [v] before and after [ú] with [o]. When [í] or [ú] is the first element in the diphthong, glide seems to be a continuity of that element. When it is the second element, glide is a support. Continuity is thus progressive as well as regressive. Compare—

[íá] líá, miserliness	**[íe] Jíe,** the living being (obl.)
[áí] táí, elder paternal uncle's wife	**[eí] mətreí,** step mother

and

[úo] bhúo, O aunt	**[oú] ḍhoú,** one about to carry.

It is difficult to say what exactly is the specific glide in **[úí], [ío], [oí]** and **[eú], [úe]** and **[íú].** Some speakers have been heard with [v] and others with [j]. The majority, however, use [j] before and after [í] and [v] before and after [ú].

II. 5. Quantity of Diphthongs

A diphthong is, of course, longer than a simple vowel.

Between themselves a rising diphthong is longer than an even diphthong and the latter is longer than a falling one. Compare—

Rising	falling	even
dhiáṛá	**páí**	**tríí**
duá	**súí**	**dee,** may give.

The diphthongs behave like long vowels. For Example, the quantity of a diphthong is considerably reduced

(1) in a stressed or toned position. Compare—

báí, 22, **bá^í,** side pole, **shurnáí,** a musical pipe

loí, blanket, **lo^í,** Lohri (festival), **vəlṭo^í,** pitcher

dúá, second, **bú^á,** door, **bhāiṛmú˜á,** evil faced.

(2) before a stressed syllable. Compare—

sáí˜, master, **sáí˜ dittá,** a name

líá, miserliness, **bíábán,** jungle, etc.

(3) in a polysyllabic word. Compare—

duá, prayer; **duáṭhí,** marriage in exchange

piár, love; **dhiáṛá,** day

pʌí, lying; **dutʌí,** a double sheet of cloth

leí, paste; **mətreí,** step-mother

súí, needle; **khədhú^í,** a big needle.

Diphthongs in succession are all reduced in quantity. Examples—

o gʌí ʌ^í, she had gone

māi˜ nʌ^í˜ giá āio˜, I had not gone

súí cáe tə˜ vʌl e, if he picks up the needle it is good.

A nasal diphthong is longer than its normal parallel. Compare—

dhíá, offspring	and	**dhíá˜,** daughters
dhiáṛá, day	and	**dhíá˜n,** attention
Júá, gambling	and	**Júá˜,** lice

sáí, advance and **sáĩ̃**, master
háe, Ha and **háẽ̯**, in the heart (obl.)
roe, if he weeps and **roẽ̯**, if you weep.

As regards the comparative quantity of the various diphthongs, the following points may be noted—

(1) Narrow diphthongs are shorter than wide ones. The more the distance between elements the longer the diphthong.

(2) In both of the above categories, glideless and ideal diphthongs are shorter than those with a glide.

(3) The clearer the glide, the longer the diphthong. Compare—
tríi, third (f.); and **tríá**, third (masc.)
see, may drench; and **sie**, may sew
kháo, eat; and **kháú**, eater
shʌí, thing (obl.); and **sáí**, advance
gʌú, cow; and **gáú**, about to sing.

(4) Diphthongs with both elements short are naturally shorter than those with one element long; and the latter are, of course, shorter than those with both elements long. Compare—
bhʌí, that; and **bháí**, brother
ditius, he gave it; and **síus**, sew it
dəús, devil; and **kháus**, eat it
duá, prayer; and **dúá**, second
iáⁿ̃ṇáⁿ̃, innocent; and **ḍhíá**, obtained.

The question of the relative quantity of the various elements is delicate one. But length is an important condition of prominence. In a rising diphthong the second element is longer than the first. In a falling diphthong, the first is longer than the second element; and an even diphthong generally has almost equally short or equally long elements. Compare the list in II. 3.(1).

As the tone falls generally on the first element, it makes it shorter than the normal element in a toned syllable.

Nasality generally tends to make the nasal or nasalized element longer.

II. 6. Treatment of some Common Diphthongs

The following diphthongs are important in the sense that the number of words containing them is very large. They are arranged

below in the order of frequency:
[íá], [áí], [áe], [oí], [oe], [úí], .[íe], [ʌí], [eí], [úá], [áo], and others.

II. 6. i. [íá]

Like other dipthongs with **[í]** as their first element, the vowel quality of **[íá]** is rather indistinct. **[í]** is rather confused with the semi-vowel **[j]**. Anyhow the diphthongal sound is more evident after retroflex consonants than before others. Compare—
dhíá (in **dhíá putrá**, progeny); and **ḍhíá**, got
viJíˆá, married; and **kuṭíá**, beaten.
Also note the same in **vʌḍhíáⁿ̃**, bribes, **káṭhíáⁿ̃**, saddles, etc.

The diphthong has two distinct values, one when stressed and the other after a stressed syllable. Compare—
kuṭíá, beaten, and **kuṭíá**, hut
dhíá, offspring, and **vʌdhíá**, superior.

In the latter position the diphthong is very certain. It is then an even diphthong. In the former position, it is a falling diphthong, the first element being longer and more prominent than the other. **[í]** in stressed position is closer, although it is opener than the plain **[í]**.

The nasal **[íáⁿ̃]** is a sign of feminine gender, plural number, except in a few loan-words. Compare **dhíáⁿ̃**, daughters, **víˆáⁿ̃**, twenties, **híáⁿ̃**, side-poles of a bed-stead; but **míáⁿ̃**, a Muslim Priest (Persian loan-word).

[íá] occurs only in the final position, while its medial parallel is sometimes **[iá]**. Compare—
dhí, daughter, **dhíáⁿ̃**, daughters, **dhiáˆṇí**, girls; **tríá**, third, **triákul**, a third party.

II. 6. ii. [iá]

The diphthong **[iá]** is found in all positions in a word, as in **iáⁿ̃ṇá**, innocent child; **dhiáṛá**, day; **kʌpiá**, cut (past tense).

Ordinarily, it is a rising diphthong, but when the first element is stressed or toned, it becomes a falling diphthong, because the tone

makes the first element much more prominent than the second element; as in **kiˆá**, of what sort, **biˆá**, stale.

Post-stressed **[iá]** is an even diphthong. Compare **kapiá**, cut, but **piˆá**, lying.

The first element **[i]** is a subsidiary member of the simple vowel **[i]** and can be confused with **[e]**.

II. 6. iii. [eá]

The diphthong **[eá]** is clear in a stressed or toned position, otherwise it is easily confused with **[iá]**. Compare—

bhə̃ṛeá, sister's son, **səneˆá**, message, **keˆá**, of what sort, and **seá**, made wet, **bhāiṛeá**, O bad one.

After a stressed syllable, the diphthong is distinctly **[iá]**, e.g., **máˆriá**, O friend, **páˆriá**, O help.

In a stressed or toned position, the diphthong is even, or else, it is a rising diphthong. Compare **səneˆá**, and **bhāiṛeá** above.

[eá] occurs as a terminational diphthong, and therefore **[á]** is always closer than the normal **[á]**.

II. 6. iv. [oá]

[oá] is an even diphthong, as in **doá**, second, **ḍhoá**, gift. As a word by itself, it is pronounced with a tone on the first element and means "the same". When accompanied by a tone, it is a falling diphthong.

The monosyllabic quality of **[oá]** is evident in both toned and toneless positions. Compare with the above, **v̇alṭoˆá**, a metal pitcher; **ṭoˆá**, pit; **coˆá**, water spring; and **goˆá**, cowdung.

[oá] is a terminational diphthong.

II. 6. v. [uá]

[uá] is a rising diphthong, the first element being shorter, and closer; and therefore occurs in the middle as well as at the end of a word. Compare—

Juáni, youth; **xuári**, wretchedness; and **duá**, prayer; **dhuá**, get washed.

The terminational **[uá]** is, however, rare.

The diphthong is never found with a tone. When stressed, the second element becomes opener and the first closer. Compare—

nʌˆí vāiná̃ tə̃ cuáti márus, (if) not goes then fire brand strike him; and **duáni deːs pare**, two annas give him away.

The nasal **[uá]** is rare, as in **huá̃guṇ**, to cry.

II. 6. vi. [úá]

The diphthong **[úá]** is a falling diphthong, the **[ú]** element being much more prominent than **[á]**, which is distinctly shorter and less audible.

It occurs only in the final position. Even the grammatical **[úá]** is transformed into **[uá]** in the medial position. Compare—

Júá, gambling, but **Juáriá**, gambler

dúá, second, but **duáṭhi**, marriage by exchange of brides.

The first element of the diphthong is more open and less round than the simple **[ú]**. Compare—

bhúr, charity, and **bhúá**, father's sister

súr, swine, and **súá**, a big needle.

With a tone, **[úá]** is more distinctly monosyllabic than otherwise. Compare—

súá, needle, and **súˆá**, red

Júá, gambling, and **búˆá**, door.

In a polysyllabic word, the quality of the two elements of **[úá]** changes when the preceding syllable is stressed. **[ú]** becomes opener and shorter, while **[á]** is also reduced. Compare—

gurúá, O Guru, and **bʌksúá**, buckle

bʌdúá, O bad man, and **dúá**, second.

Also compare **gurú** and **gurúá**.

II. 6. vii. [íí]

The diphthong **[íí]** is rare. It is more distinct than any other diphthong with **[í]** as its first element.

trii̇̃, third (fem.), also the nasal form **trii̇̃̃**, the three.

Sometimes the enclitic **i̇**, an abbreviated form of **hi̇**, alone, is so closely combined in a connected speech with a word ending in simple [i̇], that the effect is the diphthong [i̇i̇] ; e.g.

dhi̇i̇ tə̃ cʌ̃gi̇s—Her daughter alone is good

vi^i̇ de cə—Give twenty even.

In the diphthong, [i], initial as well as final, is shorter and opener than the normal [i̇]. Compare **dhi̇** and **dhi̇i̇**.

[i̇i̇] is an even diphthong.

II. 6. viii. [ei̇]

[ei̇] is a falling diphthong in English, but in Awankari it seems to lie midway between a falling and an even diphthong; and I am inclined to call it an even diphthong. Compare—

devi̇ and **dei̇**, a name

levi̇ (Muslims), and **lei̇** (Hindus), paste.

Further examples are—

mətrei̇, step-mother

bhə̃ṛei̇, sister's daughter

beimán, dishonest.

[ei̇] is usually a terminational diphthong. Medially, its sonority is shifted to the second element. In the final position the vowel quality of the second element is uncertain. The diphthongal value of [ei̇] is full in the medial position. Compare—

bhə̃ṛei̇ and **beimán** above.

When accompanied by a stress or tone, it is a falling diphthong; e.g., **be^i̇**, stale, and **ke^i̇**, of what sort.

In its ordinary position, i.e., at the end of words, it generally denotes the feminine gender.

II. 6. ix. [ái̇]

[ái̇] is a falling diphthong and the diphthongal quality of it is very evident when it is used with a high tone. It is then that the second element is heard more like a simple vowel than a semi-vowel. But in both cases, i.e., with or without a tone, [ái̇] is a clear

diphthong. Compare **bhərJái̇**, brother's wife; **vá^i̇**, ploughing; **dái̇**, nurse; **sái̇**, money in earnest; **Jəvái̇**, son-in-law.

Both the elements are weakened and they become shorter than the normal types. [á], however, is closer, and [i̇] opener.

In compound words, when the diphthong is followed by stress, the first element is closer still and the second element much shorter. Compare—

bhái̇, well, and **bhái̇ rám**, a name

sái̇̃, a mendicant, and **sái̇̃ dittá**, a name.

[ái̇] is a very common diphthong in Awankari. It occurs with or without a tone, with or without nasalization, stressed or unstressed. Compare—

sái̇, earnest money	**sái̇̃**, a mendicant
sá^i̇, breathing time	**bevisá^i̇**, unreliability

sái̇̃dittá, a name.

II. 6. x. [ʌi̇]

[ʌi̇] is a falling diphtnong. [ʌ] in the diphthongal position is more truly central than the simple [ʌ] in **gʌp**, gossip, **vʌt**, again, etc. Examples—

vʌ^i̇, account book	**gʌi̇**, went (fem.)
dutʌ^i̇, double cloth	**məkʌi̇**, maize.

In a stressed or toned position, the diphthong becomes even, the two elements acquiring equal prominence. Compare—

mʌr gʌi̇ (died) and **mər gʌi̇** (abuse)

sʌ̃i̇̃ pʌi̇ (slept) and **pʌ^i̇ rʌ̃** (keep lying).

Pre-accentual or post-accentual [ʌi̇] is clearly a rising diphthong. As such it never occurs in the beginning of a word. It is a terminational diphthong and denotes feminine gender of the words. With a tone the diphthong stands as a word by itself: **ʌ^i̇**, was.

The nasal diphthong [ʌi̇̃] occurs in **nʌi̇̃**, not; **cʌi̇̃**, an onomatopoetic sound; **tʌi̇̃**, ready, etc.

II. 6. xi. [oi̇]

[oi̇] is an even diphthong. The first element is not more

audible than the second. It occurs at the end of a word.

The first element is closer and shorter than the simple vowel [o]. The second element [í] is opener and weaker than even the final [i] in **roṭí**, bread; **bodí**, hair-tuft, etc. Compare—

loí, blanket; **rəsoí**, kitchen; **ḍhoí**, result.

In a stressed position the elements are further reduced. Cf.—

loí, blanket, and **khəloí**, (she) stood.

With a tone, the diphthong as a whole becomes opener. Cf.—

loí, blanket, and **lo^í**, a festival

ṭoí, underground granary, and **vəlto^í**, a metal pitcher.

The nasal form of the diphthong is not very common. Example—**do^í~**, both.

Usually the diphthong **[oí]** is transformed into **[oe]** in Awan. Compare **pəroe~**, you may wreath; **dhoe~**, you may wash; **roe~**, you may weep; and Punj. **pəroí~**, **dhoí~**, **roí~**, etc.

II. 6. xii. [úí]

[úí] is a falling diphthong, the **[ú]** element being more audible than **[í]**, especially when **[ú]** is toned. Compare—

dhúṇí, smouldering fire	**khədhúí**, big needle
súlí, gallows	**súí**, needle
búrí, tawny cow	**búí**, mouth-cover for calves.

When pronounced with a high tone, the first element becomes opener and the diphthong is then an even diphthong. The diphthongal quality becomes more distinct in a toned position; as in **trú^í**, still born; **khú^í**, well.

In a stressed position the second element also becomes considerably opener. Note **khədhúí** and **trú^í** above.

The diphthong **[úí]** is usually used at the end of a word. The only examples of medial **[úí]** occur in words ending the enclitic **-c**, as in **súic**, in the needle; **búic**, in the mouth-cover; etc.

II. 6. xiii. [íe]

Like **[íá]**, the vowel quality of **[í]** in **[íe]** is sometimes doubtful. In words of vocative case, the diphthongal quality is very distinct.

phʌtie, O Phati	**máṭie**, O bad one
Jhalie, O foolish girl	**dhie**, O daughter.

The vowel value of **[í]** is also fairly full after labial and velar consonants. Compare—

nʌpie, we may catch and	**talie**, we may fry
rʌkhie, we may keep	**áṇie**, we may bring
Jágie, we may keep awake	**phʌsie**, we may be entangled.

The purest **[íe]** occurs after aspirated velar consonants, or in toned position. Compare—

cʌlie, let us go	**cʌkhie**, let us taste
cʌṭie, let us lick	**cʌghie**, let us give
cʌbie, let us eat	**mərsie**, elegies
təsie, tortures.	

[íe] is an even diphthong. With stress or tone it is a falling diphthong, because **[í]** becomes longer, closer and more prominent. Cf. **cʌlie**, let us go, and **cəli^e**, 40th day (oblique), **mərsi^e**, elegies.

The diphthong **[íe]** is usually terminational. It is medial before the enclitic **-c**, as in

cəli^ec, during 40 days; **siec**, in cold.

II. 6. xiv. [áe]

[áe] is a falling diphthong. It occurs at the end of words, except that it is medial in case of nouns with enclitic **-c** (in) and in verbs ending in **-n**, (an abbreviated form of Punj. **haiⁿ**, are) or a pronominal suffix.

Examples of terminational **[áe]** are:—

táe, uncles	**uḍáe**, may fly
sá^e, hares	**kháe**, may eat
rá^e, way (oblique)	**áe**, they came
háe, Ha	**sədáe**, were called
máe, O mother.	

Examples of medial diphthong are—

táec, in the uncle

áen, they have come

viⁿJáes, he spoiled them.

[áe] retains its monosyllabic quality whether it is toned or toneless, stressed or unstressed.

The first element is closer and more centralized than the simple [á]. [e] is opener and shorter than the normal vowel.

In repetition a subsidiary member of the phoneme [áe] sounds somewhat like [ʌe] as in **hʌe mʌe,** for **háe máe,** Ha, mother; **hʌe hʌe,** Ah, Ah.

II. 6. xv. [oe]

[oe] is a pure diphthong both with and without a tone, e.g.

pəroe, he may wreath	**go^e,** cow-dung cakes
soe, soya beans	**lo^e,** iron
moe, the dead	**co^e,** springs, etc.

In a toned position, however, it is clearer.

The first element of [oe] is shorter, closer, more protruded and rounded than the simple vowel. [e] is also shorter, more backward and weak than the normal type. Compare—

bore, sacks, and **boe,** poor
gore, the white people, **go^e,** cowdung cakes
roṛe, pebbles, and **niroe,** the healthy.

Examples of medial [oe] show it before the enclitic **-c,** or verbal termination **-n,** as in **ṭo^ec,** in the pit; **vəlṭo^ec,** in the caldron.

Terminational [oe] is quite common as in **roe,** they wept; **pho^e˜,** drops; **khəloe˜,** you may wait; **oe,** O.

Also note the words above.

II. 6. xvi. [ío]

[ío] is a falling diphthong. Both elements are weaker and shorter than the normal types. It is a terminational diphthong.

It occurs in:

jío, live (imp.)	**kuṛío,** O girls
nəpío, be caught	**dhío,** O daughters
thío, become (imp.)	**gʌlío˜,** from the street
dʌndío˜, from the precipice	etc.

II. 6. xvii. [áo]

[áo] is very common in Awankari.

The first element is closer than the normal vowel. It is closer still in a toned position, as in **lá^o,** put down; **vá^o,** plough.

The diphthong has prominence on the first member, which is longer and closer than the other one. Hence it is a falling diphthong.

In nasal form it is found in such words as **máo˜,** cat; **rá^o˜,** from the way; **bəláo˜,** from a calamity.

II. 6. xviii. [áú]

[áú] is a falling diphthong, common in Awankari. The [á] is closer and rounder than the simple vowel. The second element is opener than the normal [ú]. It is less round than the simple type.

[áú] is a terminational diphthong and clear, too. Examples are—

kháú, eater	**bhiráú,** brother (obl.)
uḍáú, destroyer	**máú,** mother (obl.)
cəláú, workable	**sáú,** a gentleman
káú˜, a nickname	**páú˜,** itching disease (obl.).

In toned position, the first element is still closer and shorter, as in **Jhá^ú,** hog-like; **lá^ú,** one who takes down.

II. 6. xix. Miscellaneous

The other diphthongs occur only sporadically, generally as incidents of Sandhi. Of these the following are comparatively important—

[ʌe] is a rising diphthong, and the second element in it is much opener than the final element in [āie]. It is longer too.

The distinction is marked in stressed or toned syllables. Compare—

āi^e, were, and **rʌ^e,** remained
gāie, went, and **pʌ^e,** lay
sāi˜e, for 100, and **sʌ^e,** if he endures.

II

The first element [ʌ] becoming forward, the diphthong is often confused with [a͡ie].

In [a͡i^e] the [a͡i] is closer and the [e] opener than the simple [a͡i] and [e] respectively. In a toned or stressed position its diphthongal quality is remarkably distinct. Compare—

ga͡ie, gone — **tra͡i^e,** the three

a͡i^e, were — **sa͡ie,** 100 (obl.)

Ja͡ie, Jai (name—oblique).

In [ee] both [e]s are short, though the second [e] is longer than the final [e] in **de,** give, or **bha͡ie,** bad ones. Compare—

səne^e, messages — **see,** made wet

lee, soil (oblique) — **de^e˜,** the sun (oblique).

It is an even diphthong and becomes falling one in a toned position.

[úe], even normally, also becomes a falling diphthong when used with a tone. Compare—

súe, big needles and **cú^e,** mice

dúe, second ones — **bú^e,** doors.

[ʌú] is an even diphthong. The second element **[ú]** is opener and less round than the simple vowel. Compare—

sú, delivery — **lú,** hot wind

and

gʌú, cow — **lʌ^ú,** blood

vətʌú˜, brinjal — **cʌú˜,** for four

bʌ^ú˜, much — **lʌú˜,** itching pain.

The nasal form is commoner.

[əú] is the medial correspondent of **[ʌú].** In this case **[ú]** is closer and rounder than in **[ʌú].** It is a rising diphthong. Examples—

dəús, devil (in endearment) **shəúr,** wisdom.

In **[íú],** both elements are weaker and shorter than their simple proto-types. It occurs only at the end of words. Examples are :

píú, father (obl.) ; **dhíú,** daughter (obl.) ; **píú˜,** gnat.

In **[eo]** the two elements are closer than the normal vowels. It is an even diphthong. Examples—

deo, give ; **deo˜,** demon ; **seo,** make wet.

[io] is a closer form of the diphthong [eo] and is heard in rapid speech. Compare—

ghio, ghee — **di^o˜,** the sun.

III

TRIPHTHONGS & TETRAPHTHONGS

III

TRIPHTHONGS & TETRAPHTNONGS

1. Enumeration.
2. General Characteristics
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3. The Triphthongal Elements.
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   (iv) Initially Prominent Triphthongs.
   (v) Finally Prominent Triphthongs.
   (vi) Medially Prominent Triphthongs.
4. Tetraphthongs.

III. 1. Enumeration

The following triphthongs are obtainable in Awankari—

I II

*áeá, áiá - áeá, came
páeá, put
cáeá, took up
khəváeá, made to eat
háiá, brother
náiá, O barber
máiá˜, women in marriage party
ilá^iá, O Elahi, a name
áio - máio, O women
sáio˜, from advance money
*áeo, áio - áeo, have you come
páeo, put (with pron. suffix)
áoá - áoá, you had to come
sə˜váoá, you had to make sleep
áúá - kháúá, he is to eat it, mind you
vi˜Jáúá, he is to waste it, mind you
áúi - kháúi, he is to eat it, mind you
uḍáúi, he is to flee with it, mind
áúe - kháúe, he is an eater
kháúe˜, are you an eater?
áúo - cáúo, are you to lift it up?
uḍáúo, are you to flee with it?
ʌi á - ninánvʌiá, son-in-law of husband's sister
shʌiá˜, things
gʌiá, she is gone
əiá - ákhəiá, you had said
vekhəiá, you had seen
ʌio - gʌio, are you (fem.) gone?
ʌ^io, you were (fem.)
ʌú á - hʌúá, devil
mʌ^úá, Mahu plant
ʌúe - hʌúe, devils
lʌ^úe, it is blood
iʌi - thiʌi, has become of you
ḍhiʌi, have you obtained
ieá - bhətrieá˜, to the nephew

phái á, patch
əkáiá, teased (caus.)
máiá, starch
viJá^iá, was married.

The two forms of the same triphthong in slow and rapid speech have been shown with an asterisk mark.

mi^eá˜, to the rain
iáe - Jəmiá^e˜, linseed (obl.)
*eái, iái - cə˜geái, goodness
pə˜ḍtiái, learning
vəḍiái, greatness
eəi - peəi, it is lying for you
ḍheəi, you have obtained
eeá - deeá, he had to give
seeá, you had to drench
eiá - deiá, if he had given to you
be^iá˜, stale (pl.)
bhə˜ṛeiá˜, to the niece, nieces
eie - deie, O Devi
bhə˜ṛeie, O niece
eāio - ge˜āios, I had gone to him
āiiá - gāiiáJi, Gaya
āi^iá, was
āieəu - gāieəu, you had gone
rāi^e˜əus, I had lived with him
*āieo, āiio - pāi^eo, you are lying
gāiio, you have gone
rāi^ios, we had lived with him
*oeá, oiá - moiá, dead
hoiá, became
lo^iá, iron
oiá - rəsoiá, cook
moiá˜, the dead (fem.)
oie - moie, O dead one (endearment)
loie, O my blanket
lo^ie, O Lohri
ooá - hooá, if you had been
khəlooá, if you had stayed
uáe - ruáe, may make weep
ḍhuáe, may get it carried
uái - ḍhuái, charges for carrying
duái˜, prayers
úiá - súiá˜, needles
cú^iá˜, mice
úio - cú^io, O mice

bú́io˜, from the mouth-cover
uíe - khúíe, well (obl.).

III. 2. General Characteristics

Triphthongs in Awankari do not generally occur in independent words. But as phonetics is concerned more with speech than with isolated vocables, their mention is rather important. Moreover, the writer of these lines has not seen any work on Modern Indo-Aryan Languages in which triphthongs have been systematically treated. This article may suggest some lines of research.

The existence of triphthongs strengthens the theory of the presence of diphthongs in the dialects and justifies a thorough examination of the latter in the last chapter.

Awankari triphthongs are always terminational except when a pronominal suffix with consonant follows. Examples—

máíá˜, women, **máíá˜n**, they are women
áiá, came, **áiás**, he has come to him.

III. 2. i. Nasality

Almost all the triphthongs occur also in their nasal or nasalized form. Nasality begins with the first element, increases in the medial and is strongest in the final element.

See examples above and also note—

áiá˜, hast thou come?
gáe˜á, thou hast to sing
ghináúá˜, I am to make him take
áe˜o, thou came
gʌúá˜, cows.
āiiˆá˜, we were
āiˆio˜, you were
ruáe˜, make him weep
roiá˜, by weeping

III. 2. ii. Tone

With regard to the tone, the Awankari triphthongs behave like the diphthongs, i.e., the tone occurs on the first element which

consequently becomes prominent. Compare—

phá́ˆí, gallows — and — **lá́ˆíá**, O Elahi
rá́ˆe, way (obl.) — **páeo**, put
vá́ˆú, about to plough — **vá́ˆúo**, are you about to plough
viJá́ˆúo, you are to get him married
lʌˆú, blood — **mʌˆúá**, Mahu plant
lʌˆúe, blood (obl.)
beˆí, stale — **beˆíá˜**, stale (pl.).

It may be observed that the tone on the triphthongs is neither so high nor so strong as on the diphthongs. The latter requiring less energy than the former can afford to have a stronger and higher tone. Compare also diphthongs and simple vowels, which have a still higher tone, e.g.

lá́ˆ, take down — but — **lá́ˆí**, she was taken down
rú́ˆ, soul — **bú́ˆá**, door
leˆ, lick — **beˆi**, stale.

No triphthong is found to take a **[j]**, **[v]** or **[h]** liaison.

III. 2. iii. Width

In the articulation of Awankari triphthongs, the movement of the tongue from the back to the front elements or *vice versa*, and from the back to the front and again to the back element, or from the front to the back and again to the front element, is very quick. The following are narrow triphthongs, the distance between their elements being shortest—

[áoá] **[ʌúá]** **[eíe]**
[áúá] **[íʌí]** **[ooá]**
[áúo] **[eəí]**.

The others may be called wide triphthongs. But the width between elements is not at all so great as in the case of diphthongs. Here the front vowel-elements tend to go back and the back ones come forward to effect closer progressive continuity. Compare—

ḍhái, 2 1/2 — and — **bhá́íá**, brother-in-law
ghináú, one who makes a thing give — **ghináúe**, he is to make a thing give
gʌí, went — **gʌío**, you have gone.

III. 2. iv. Quantity

A triphthong is, naturally, longer than a diphthong. As a rule, it behaves like the latter under conditions of stress, tone and nasality. Examples—

ghináńe, he is to make a thing give
ghináńe˜, you are to make a thing give
lá^ńe˜, he is to get it down
dáie nál, with a claim
bháie, the brother (obl.)
lá^ie, let us take it down, or Elahi (obl.)
giráie˜ kol, with the villager.

As regards the comparative quantity of the various triphthongs, there is nothing particular. As in diphthongs, length depends on the extent of glide and width and the comparative quantity of the elements.

Note.—The characteristic features of various triphthongal elements have been discussed in the next section.

III. 2. v. Glides

The conditions of glides are almost the same as for diphthongs. I give the ideal place to the following narrow triphthongs—

[**áoá**] **kháoá,** you had to eat
nəháoá, you had to bathe
[**ooá**] **dhooá,** you had to wash.

A very delicate and faint glide is suspected in the following—

[áńá], [ʌńá], [eəí], [áńo], [íʌí], [eíe].

The wide triphthongs are all on the suspicion line, the glide being considerably clear in those containing **[í]** and **[ú]** both. Triphthongs of the latter class are **[áńí], [úíá], [úíe]** and **[úío].** Triphthongs containing **[í]** and **[i]** have usually **[j]** glide, those containing **[ú]** and **[u]** elements have **[v]** glide, and those containing both are differently articulated by different speakers.

It may be remembered again that this glide is not equivalent to liaison **[j]** or **[v].** Vide III. 2.ii above.

Compare examples given in the beginning of the chapter.

Almost all triphthongs are clear in a toned syllable.

III. 3. The Triphthongal elements

Awankari triphthongs may be classified into six groups in respect of the prominence of their elements. It is extremely difficult to give them suitable terms, which have still to be invented. I prefer to represent them as below*—

(i) Rising Triphthongs
(ii) Falling Triphthongs
(iii) Level Triphthongs
(iv) Initially prominent Triphthongs
(v) Finally prominent Triphthongs
(vi) Medially prominent Triphthongs.

III. 3. i. Rising Triphthongs

In this group may be placed the following triphthongs: **[ʌíá], [əíá], [ʌío], [ʌúá]** and **[ʌúe].**

The prominence of the elements rises from the first to the second and from the second to the third element. The final element is longer than the medial and the medial is longer than the initial element.

As compared with the simple vowels all the elements of these triphthongs are short.

The medial element which is **[í]** or **[ú]** is closer than either of the other two. Similarly the initial element which is either **[ʌ]** or **[ə]** is closer than the final.

It need not be reiterated that the elements of Awankari triphthongs are shorter and closer than the same in diphthongs. Compare—

dhíá˜, daughters, and **vʌ^íá˜,** account books
dúá, second, and **hʌúá,** devil
súe, big needles, and **hʌúe,** devils.

**Arabic figures represent the order of elements in a triphthong.*

As regards their monosyllabic quality, these tripht hongs occupy an intermediate position : there is a slight impression of [v] glide in [ʌúá] and [ʌúe], and of [j] in the other three.

III. 3. ii. Falling Triphthongs

These triphthongs have again either [ú] or [í] in the middle, which is always preceded by a longer element. Hence, perhaps, these triphthongs occur in their pure form only when toned. The monosyllabic quality of toneless triphthongs of this group is sufficiently doubtful. To some hearers, especially in slow speech, there is an impression of a disyllable because of a semi-vowel audible before the final element.

The triphthongs in this group are as follow—

[áúo], [áía], [áío], [áúí], [áúe], [áúá], [eíe], [eía], [oíe], [oía] and [úía].

The initial element in these triphthongs is the longest and the most prominent. The medial element is closer than either of the other two. It is also longer than the final element. Under the influence of a preceding or following open vowel, the medial element is opener than its normal prototype.

Of all, the rising and falling triphthongs are most doubtful in their monosyllabic quality, except in a toned syllable. See examples under III. 1.

III. 3. iii. Level Triphthongs

In this class of triphthongs are included the following—

[eāio], [āieo], [āieū]

All the elements are equally long and equally prominent, although they are shorter than the simple vowels.

The final element in **[eāio]** and **[āieo]** is opener and in **[āieū]** closer than the final type in a diphthong. Compare—

deo, demon and **gāieo,** you have gone
geāio, thou hadst gone
geū, you go and **gāieū,** you had gone.

These triphthongs are quite pure in quality.

III. 3. iv. Initially Prominent Triphthongs

The following triphthongs belong to this category—

[áiá], [áoá], [áio], [iʌí], [eəí], [āiiá], [āiio], and **[oiá].**

In these triphthongs the primary prominence is on the first element and the secondary prominence on the last. The medial element is the shortest and the initial element longer than the final. Compare with them the falling triphthongs which also are initially prominent but there is no secondary prominence on their last element which is least prominent therein.

The length of the elements is very much reduced from their value as simple vowels and also as diphthongs. The medial element is opener than its normal type, so that [i] sounds like [e] and [ə] like [ʌ]. The initial and final elements of these triphthongs are closer and shorter than those of the same types in diphthongs. Compare—

khoá, a product of milk, and **khoiá** (doublet)
áo, come, and **áio,** have you come ?
āi^á, was, and **āi^iá** (doublet).

These also are pure Awankari triphthongs; there is no impression of a glide in them.

III. 3. v. Finally Prominent Triphthongs

The triphthongs in this group are :

[íeá], [eeá] and **[ooá].**

They are very rare in Awankari. There is no glide audible in their articulation. But sometimes, i.e. in the speech of certain slow articulators, a slight pause is felt after the second element.

The third element is primarily prominent and long, while the second prominence is on the first element which is, however, longer and closer than the second. The final element is comparatively open.

The medial element is closer than its normal type. The last element is opener than the normal vowel in final position. Cf.—

khá, eat, and **khəlooá,** you had waited, or, **peeá** (Reshi), was lying.

Also compare **de,** give, and **deeá,** he had given.

These triphthongs have no glide.

III

III. 3. vi. Medially Prominent Triphthongs

In this category are the following triphthongs :—

[iáe], [iái], [uáe] and **[uái]**.

The medial element here is longer, opener and more prominent than either of the other two. The final element is opener than the simple vowel in final position or even the final element of a diphthong. Compare—

dhí, daughter, **dái,** nurse, **vəḍiái,** greatness, or **Juái,** a name

de, give, **máe,** O mother, **Jəmiá^e˜**, linseed (obl.).

The first element is longer than the simple vowel. But the other elements are very short as compared with their simple parallels.

Like the triphthongs in Groups Nos. 4 and 5, those in this group are fairly pure and genuine as no glide is heard in the speech of the majority of speakers.

III. 4. Tetraphthongs

A tetraphthoug is, in fact, composed of two diphthongs which have a slight pausc between them. They behave like diphthongs as regards glide, tone and nasality. Like the triphthongs they are also terminational. The only examples are :

[áiʌi], [áeʌi] - gáiʌi, have you sung ?

[oiʌi] - hoiʌi, has become of you

[iáiá] - vəḍiáiá˜, greatnesses.

IV

SINGLE CONSONANTS

IV

SINGLE CONSONANTS

1. Classification.
2. Consonants as Phonemes.
3. Articulation.
   (i) Plosives Proper—**p, ph, b, bh, t, th, d, dh, c, ch, J, Jh, ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh, k, kh, g, gh.**
   (ii) Nasals—**m, n, ń, n˜, ṇ.**
   (iii) Laterals—**l,** L.
   (iv) Rolled—**[r .**
   (v) Flapped—**[ṛ].**
   (vi) Fricatives—**f, s, z, sh, x,** G, **h.**
   (vii) Semi-Vowels—**j, v.**

IV. 1. Classification of Awankari Consonants

Awankari possesses 38 consonants, namely, **[k], [kh], [g], [gh], [ń], [c], [ch], [J], [Jh], [n˜], [ṭ], [ṭh], [ḍ], [ḍh], [ṇ], [t], [th], [d], [dh], [n], [p], [ph], [b], [bh], [m], [j], [r], [ṛ], [l],** [L], **[v], [sh], [x], [s], [h], [f], [z],** [G].

Of these, **[ń], [n˜],** [L], **[x], [f], [z]** and [G] are allophones. See under 'Articulation'.

They may be classified in various ways.

(1)

The following chart explains the place and manner of formation of Awankari consonants.

	Bilabial	Labio dental	Dental	Dentoalveoar	Alveolar	Palato-Alveolar	Cerebral	Velar	Glottal
Plosives	p, ph b, bh		t, th, d, dh			c, ch J, Jh	ṭ, ṭh ḍ, ḍh	k, kh g, gh	
Nasals	m				n	n˜	ṇ	ṅ	
Lateral					l		ʟ		
Rolled					r				
Flapped							ɾ		
Fricatives		f		s, z		sh		x, ɢ	h
Semi-vowels		v				j			

(2)

With respect to the presence or absence of voice, Awankari consonants may be further classified thus—

Voiced or flat (soft) consonants—**[b], [d], [J], [ḍ], [g], [bh], [dh], [Jh], [ḍh], [gh], [j], [h] [l], [r], [ɾ], [v], [ɢ], [z], [m], [n], [ṅ], [n˜].**

Voiceless or sharp (breathed) consonants—**[p], [t], [c], [ṭ], [k], [ph], [th], [ch], [ṭh], [kh], [s], [sh], [x], [f].**

(3)

As regards presence or absence of aspiration these consonants may be further grouped as follows—

Aspirared consonants—**[ph], [bh], [th], [dh], [ch], [Jh], [ṭh], [ḍh], [kh], [gh], [ ].**

Non-aspirated consonants—**[p], [b], [m], [t], [d], [n], [c], [J], [n˜], [ṭ], [ḍ], [ṇ], [k], [g], [ṅ], [ʟ], [sh], [x], [s], [z], [f], [ɢ], [r], [l], [ɾ]** and semi-vowels.

IV. 2. Consonants as Phonemes

The following minimal pairs are notable—

A. *Voiced and unvoiced*—**bar,** width, **par,** feathers; **kubbá,** hunchback, **kuppá,** flask; **dil,** mind, **til,** mole; **pid,** jump over, **pit,** prickly heat; **Jírá,** cummin seed, **círá,** turban; **soJ,** swelling, **soc,** thinking; **goḍá,** knee, **goṭá,** frill; **ḍik,** bump, **ṭik,** to stay; **gol,** round, **kol,** with; **lug,** wilderness, **luk,** coal-tar; **bhaṇ,** to talk ill, **phaṇ,** snake's hood; **libh,** tresses, **liph,** to bend; **dhoṛá,** thorny hedge, **thoṛá,** little; **madhrá,** dwarfish, **mathrá,** a male name; **Jhal,** foolishness, **chal,** current; **riJh,** to be cooked, **rich,** bear; **ḍhuk,** to come up, **ṭhuk,** to get beaten; **saḍh,** barren, **saṭh,** sixty; **gháṇ,** big mass, **kháṇ,** mine; **lagh,** pass on, **lakh,** hundred thousand; **zar,** money, **sar,** reed; **rozá,** fast, **rosá,** displeasure.

B. *Plosives and semi-vowels*—**bar,** width, **var,** bridegroom; **sábuṇ,** soap, **sávuṇ,** rainy month; **Jálá,** niche, **jálá,** O God.

C. *Lateral, rolled and flapped*—**loṛ,** need, **roṛ,** hard particles; **bolá,** pebble, **borá,** sack; **búrá,** saw-dust, **búṛá,** neckless (pitcher); **bol,** first line of a song, **boṛ,** dip.

D. **[ḍ]** *and* **[ɾ]**—**goḍá,** knee, **goṛá,** lump of cotton; **sáḍá,** our, **sáṛá,** jealousy; **gáḍ,** reel, **gáṛ,** stony place.

D.—*Dentoalveolar* **[s]** *and Palatoalveolar* **[sh]**—**ser,** 2 lbs. **sher,** tiger; **sálá,** wife's brother, **shálá,** as God wills; **tás,** plate, **tásh,** playing cards.

E.—*Aspirates and non-aspirates*—**phaṭ,** wound, **paṭ,** silk; **leph,** quilt, **lep,** plaster; **bhúrá,** brown, **búrá,** saw-dust; **ubhur,** rise, **ubur,** speak; **thak,** tired, **tak,** see; **cith,** grind, **cit,** mind; **dhoṛá,** thorny hedge, **doṛá,** a couplet; **padh,** journey, **pad,** wind; **chaṭ,** sack, **caṭ,** lick; **rach,** tools, **rac,** teased; **Jhul,** wrapping sheet, **Jul,** go; **suJh,** strike, **suJ,** swell; **ṭhok,** beat, **ṭok,** forbid; **guṭh,** corner, **guṭ,** thick; **ḍholá,** a song, **ḍolá,** a small pitcher; **gaḍh,** tie a knot, **gaḍ,** to sow; **kho^,** habit, **ko^,** 1 1/2 miles; **lakh,** hundred thousand, **lak,** waist; **ghoṛí,** mare, **goṛí,** reel; **lághá,** passage, **lágá,** wound on animal's back.

F. *Dentals and cerebrals*—**talli,** palm of hand, **ṭalli,** bell; **gut,** braid, **guṭ,** thick; **thap,** to pat, **ṭhap,** to fold; **hath,** hand, **haṭh,** perseverance; **had,** boundary, **haḍ,** bones; **kadh,** wall, **kaḍh,** draw out.

IV. 3. Articulation of Consonants

IV. 3. i. Plosives Proper

Plosive consonants are formed by complete closure of the air passage during an appreciable time ; the air is compressed (generally by the action of the lungs) and, on release of the closure, issues suddenly, making an explosive sound or 'plosion '.

There are 20 plosive consonants in Awankari dialect, as shown in the previous table and as detailed below :

Breathed plosives.—Unaspirated **[p], [t], [c], [ṭ], [k]**
Aspirated **[ph], [th], [ch], [ṭh], [kh].**

Voiced plosives—Unaspirated **[b], [d], [J], [ḍ], [g]**
Aspirated **[bh], [dh], [Jh], [ḍh], [gh].**

With regard to the organ or place of articulation, these plosives may be classified thus—

bilabials - **[p], [ph], [b], [bh]**
dentals - **[t], [th], [d], [dh]**
palatoalveolars - **[c], [ch], [J], [Jh]**
cerebrals - **[ṭ], [ṭh], [ḍ], [ḍh]**
gutturals - **[k], [kh], [g], [gh].**

IV. 3. i(a). [p]

[p] is a breathed (voiceless) bi-labial sound, Both the lips come together and close the air-passage. Then there is a sudden explosion of air through the mouth while the nasal passage is entirely closed by the soft palate. The vocal chords keep apart. The tongue remains practically in its resting position. The normal value of [p] occurs before open vowels.

In a word it can occur initially, medially and finally, as in

potrá, grandson
páp, sin
paĩ̯trá, a movement
putur, son
piṭ, to lament
ápṇá, own
oprá, stranger
thápí, dung cake
siápá, mourning gathering
tráp, name of a village
ṭop, hat
trʌp, to jump
ghup, pitch-dark.

IV. 3. i(b). [ph]

[ph] is aspirated **[p].** The articulation is similar, but the plosion is more copious and vigorous. The tension of the lips is greater. Hence the puff is violent and escapes in a fairly good volume. Examples—

Initial	Medial
phosí, dung	**nephá,** place for string in the trousers
phəhaṃṛá, wooden spade	**phuphí,** aunt
phá^, gallows	**Jʌphí,** wrestling
phíná̃, flat-nosed.	**pháphuṛ,** hollow.

Final
liph, spleen
huph, close
leph, quilt.

IV. 3. i(c). [b]

The voiced correspondent of **[p]** is **[b].** The vocal chords are closed to vibrate, thus producing voice. Examples are—

Initial	Medial
bárí, window	**Jʌbbí,** name of a village
bolí, dialect	**gubĩ̯d,** name of a person
beḍá, blank	**səbúṇ,** soap
búlí, bull-terrier	**səbʌb,** reason
baĩ̯ṛ, string on a spinning wheel.	**ʌṛbʌńg,** obstinate.

Final
sá^b, Sahib, a white man
rʌb, God
Jənáb, Sir
gəríb, poor.

IV. 3. i(d). [bh]

[bh] is a voiced bi-labial aspirated plosive corresponding to the voiceless **[ph].** The position of articulating organs is the same as that for **[b].** The lips are rather tense as in the case of **[ph].** In

pronouncing [bh] in stressed words, the larynx rises fairly high, as in

eˆ cə bhʌr, this you fill
nı́˜ bhúá, O Aunt.

It occurs in all positions of a word.

Initially, as in	Medially, as in
bhár, load	**libhá˜,** tresses
bhāı̃gá, squint-eyed	**gʌbhrú,** youth
bhusrı́, a kind of bread	**səbhál,** gift
bhúrá, brown.	**Jebhá,** pocket.

Finally, as in

lʌbh, seek
khobh, a marshy place
khʌbh, feathers.

IV. 3. i(e). [t]

[t] is a dental voiceless unaspirated plosive. The tip of the tongue rests against the upper teeth, and the front part of the tongue along with a portion of the blade touches the teeth-ridge.

Before [r] and, in initial position, before back vowels, [t] is pronounced a little up towards the teeth-ridge. It is not quite alveolar, but the tongue touches the upper portion of the teeth. Compare—

Initially

tı́rá, front of a shirt	**tir,** sound to frighten crows
tárá, star	**tʌr,** swim
trāi, three	**tel,** oil
tút, mulberry	**tʌttá,** hot
tudh, you (acc.)	**tāı̃ḍhá,** your
troṛe, anklets	**treṛ,** dew.

Note also [t] in **māiˆtá,** a caste-name, and **phı́tá,** tape, where it is not initial and is followed by a closer [á]. More examples—

Medially	Finally
vətʌú˜, brinjal	**jʌt,** hair of goat
Juttı́, shoe	**surut,** consciousness
Jəvátrá, son-in-law	**məsı́t,** mosque
petlá, of bronze	**səbút,** complete
pı́tá, drank	**pot,** width of cloth
sətvʌ˜Já, 57.	**sʌt,** seven.

IV. 3. i(f). [th]

[th] is an aspirated correspondent of [t]. The tongue rises higher towards the teeth than in the case of [t]. It remains in contact with the front of the hard palate for a time and the plosion is stronger than in the case of [t]. Examples—

Initial	Medial
thʌṛá, platform	**sʌthrá,** a carpenter's tool
thúm, garlic	**guthı́,** bundle
thorı́, travelling merchant	**uthá^ı́˜,** there
thiá, became.	**bhʌṛthú,** a preparation of brinjal.

Final

búth, mouth	**dhʌṛuth,** charge on weighing
háth, depth	**gʌl kʌth,** talk.

IV. 3. i(g). [d]

The Awankari normal [d] is a voiced dental plosive consonant. Before [r] and, in initial position, before back vowels, it also behaves like [t]. Compare—

Initially

diválá, bankruptcy	**dáJ,** dowry
desı́, country made	**duánı́,** two-anna coin
doˆtrá, grandson	**dāı̃t,** giant
dupṛı́, double-layered bread.	

Medially

kʌddú, pumpkin	**səvádı́,** tasteful
vədám, almond	**bidáñã˜,** a sweetmeat.

Finally

tʌ˜d, fibre	**səvád,** taste
gʌd, marriage gifts	**hʌrı́ cʌnd,** a name of a person.

IV. 3. i(h). [dh]

[dh] is the voiced correspondent of [th] and aspirated correspondent of [d]. The initial [dh] is more distinct than the medial

or final consonant. Compare—

Initially	Medially
dhure, fie	**vədhík,** in excess
dhotí, a cloth	**sidh:á,** straight
dhí, daughter	**rádho,** a name
dhiáṛá, day	**mədháṇí,** churn.
dhirkháṇú, fruit of a tree.	

Finally

kʌdh, wall
səmádh, tomb
sedh, straightness.

IV. 3. i(i). [c]

[c] is a palatoalveolar voiceless plosive, more inclined towards the palate than to the alveola. The front of the tongue comes in contact with the hard palate while the backward part of the teeth-ridge is just touched by the blade. The affricate [tsh] does not exist in Awankari.

Compare in this connection Kahuni and Punjabi consonants [Dr. S. Varma, p. 75; and Dr. Jain, p. 59)*. Compare—

Initially	Medially
cor, thief	**kácú,** knife
cá^lí, 40	**succá,** pure
cunní, a cloth	**muciáṇí,** wife of a cobbler
cm^dhrí, a title.	**cící,** little finger.

Finally

Jác, method — **dhiáṛíc,** in a day
mec, measure — **khuruc,** scratch.

IV. 3. i(j). [ch]

[ch] is aspirated [c]. It is, however, more forward than the

I have tried all combinations, consonant-groups, double or long consonants and also these consonants in final possition; and I am convinced that there is no friction in the articulation of these sounds.

latter. Here, of course, the contact of the tongue with the palate and the alveola is equally shared. It is more purely a palato-alveolar plosive consonant than [c]. Examples—

Initial	Medial
chole, gram	**pʌchṛá,** basket
chúṇi, cover	**púchul,** tail
chittá, peevish	**kʌṛchí,** ladle
chá˜, shade.	**mochá,** cut.

Final

nich, sneeze — **vách,** span of the mouth
puch, ask — **kʌch,** armpit.

IV. 3. i(k). [J]

[J] is the voiced correspondent of [c]. Affricate [dz] does not exist in Awankari.

Initial	Medial
Jákut, child	**ʌJuṛ,** flock of sheep
Jaule, a preparation of flour	**Já˜Jí,** members of a marriage party
Júṛá, knot of hair	**sáJí,** minstrels
Joṭá, pair	**əJoká,** to-day's
Jin, evil spirit.	**mmJá˜,** joys.

Final

bhʌJ, break — **nihá˜J,** an abuse
dáJ, dowry — **tʌlbáJ,** a utensil.

IV. 3. i(l). [Jh]

[Jh] is a voiced correspondent of [ch] and aspirated [J]. It is normal before [r], [n] and back vowels. In other conditions, it is more forward and is akin to Kahuni [Jh].* Compare—

Initial	Medial
Jhát, peep	**boJhá,** pocket
Jhik:á, low	**oJhṛí,** flesh

*Dr. S. Varma: "Lahnda Phonetics".

Jhũ, pubic hair
Jhəlár, garden-well.
máJhá, of buffalo
bəJhíse̅, you will be arrested.

Final

viáJh, acquire
kriJh, fret
JheJh, bickering
púJh, wipe.

IV. 3. i(m). [ṭ]

[ṭ] is a retroflex (cerebral) unaspirated breathed plosive in Awankari. The tongue starts at the point between the hard palate and the soft palate and immediately after the release of contact (just at the time of plosion) curls back. It may be noted that the part of tongue in touch with the palate is considerably more than that for dentals or palatoalveolars. Compare—

Initial	Medial
ṭikáṇá, resort	**pʌṭvárí**, a village official
ṭákre, Lahndi script	**piṭṇá**, quarrel
ṭúṇá, witchcraft	**cʌṭṭí**, fine
ṭísí, top	**Jhúṭe**, swings
ṭa̅ir, pony.	**bʌ̃ṭṛí**, bride, wife.

Final

vʌṭ, coil
khəlveṭ, wings
Jhəríṭ, bruise.
loṭ, note

IV. 3. i(n). [ṭh]

In the articulation of [ṭh], the aspirate correspondent of [ṭ], the action of the tongue is comparatively strong. At the plosion, the tongue comes down much lower than in the case of [ṭ]. [ṭh] is the most forceful plosive. Examples—

(1)

ṭha̅iṇá, smallish
ṭhʌ̃ka, nap
ṭhikrí, potsherd
ṭhár, coolness.

(2)

ṭhúṭhí, an earthen cup
aiṭhá, sat
əṭhái, 28
bʌṭhul, a pot.

(3)

muháṭh, threshold
guṭh, corner
ʌṭh, 8
moṭh, a kind of pulse
pai̅ṭh, 65.

IV. 3. i(o). [ḍ]

[ḍ] is the voiced correspondent of [ṭ]. Examples are

(1)

ḍai̅ṇ, witch
ḍáćí, she-camel
ḍoḍe, pods
ḍʌ^mṇí, a bat for washing clothes.

(2)

kʌ̃ḍí, shell
vʌḍkí, old woman
vəḍerá, bigger
goḍá, knee.

(3)

bheḍ, sheep
boḍ, close.
pá̃ḍ, lane
bu̅ḍ, buttock.

IV. 3. i(p). [ḍh]

[ḍh] is the aspirated voiced retroflex plosive consonant. It acts like other members of the retroflex family, but here, at the time of contact with the palate, the tongue becomes flat and consequently plosion is rather suppressed. Compare—

(1)

ḍhá^ḍí, bonfire
ḍhil, delay
ḍhívuṇ, to obtain
ḍhi^ḍ, belly.

(2)

kʌḍho, turn out
sáḍhú, wife's brother-in-law
buḍhːá, old
meḍhí, lock of hair.

(3)

ḍe^ḍh, 1 1/2
ḍá^ḍh, powerfulness
sʌḍh, barren
gəváḍh, neighbourhood.

IV. 3. i(q). [k]

Awankari unvoiced guttural [k] is almost identical with English [k]. The back of the tongue closes the air passage when it comes in contact with the back ridge of the soft palate. The whole

tongue, of course, rises up. As in all other breathed plosives, vocal chords keep aloof, in position for breath. Plosion in [k] is weak as compared with other plosives. Examples—

(1)

kʌllur, saltpeter
kʌɳ:á, string for trousers
kánı̃, reed-pen
kirár, shopkeeper
kú˜ɖá, a pot.

(2)

məkʌí, maize
tʌrkírá, stinking matter
ɖákiá, post peon
ṭhíkrí, potsherd
mukáɳ, condolence-party.

(3)

ɖík, sip
uɖík, wait
khuruk, itch.
lihák, a young camel
sə˜dúk, box

IV. 3. i(r). [kh]

[kh] is aspirated **[k]**, but it is more forward than the latter. Compare—

kelá, banana and **kheḍ**, play
bʌkrá, he-goat and **vʌkhrá**, separate
Játuk, child and **ákh**, say.

More examples of **[kh]** are—

(1)

khəbáṛá, wild fig
khotá, ass
kháɖí, chin.

(2)

dhʌkh:á˜, lice
vekho, see
mákhú, honey.

(3)

sikh, Sikh, learn
dhuákh, smoked
vʌkho vʌkh, separate
vekh, see.

IV. 3. i(s,t) [g] and [gh]

The voiced correspondent of **[k]** is **[g]**; and **[gh]**, the voiced correspondent of **[kh]**. Compare—

initially in

gʌɖí, train
goḍá, knee
gholí, sacrifice for you
ghʌ˜ɖí, soft palate

gəváḍhí, neighbour
gídí, ass-like
ghuɳu˜J, crease
ghísí, slipping on buttocks.

medially in

mə˜getur, person betrothed
bigáná, other's
gogá, a small cake of bread
pəghúṛá, cradle
mághá, dear
soghá, in order.

finally in

vʌg, blow
virág, sadness
surug, paradise
sʌgh, throat
mágh, dearness
surugh, tunnel.

IV. 3. ii. Nasals

Nasal consonants are sounds through the nose. The mouth-organs are closed by lips or by the tongue at the point of primary articulation, and the soft palate is lowered so that the air is free to pass through the nose. Plosion takes place in the mouth, as in the case of plosives enumerated above.

The following are the five nasal consonant-phones in Awankari—

[m], **[n]**, **[ɳ]**, **[n˜]** and **[ń]**.

[m], **[n]**, and **[ɳ]** are plosives.

In respect of the place of articulation, **[m]** is a bilingual nasal, **[n]** an alveolar, **[n˜]**, a palato-alveolar, **[ɳ]** a cerebral and **[ń]** a guttural or velar nasal.

Only **[m]** and **[n]** may be initial, intervocalic as well as final. **[ɳ]** does not begin a word: it may begin a syllable. **[ń]** and **[n˜]** are rarely used as independent sounds. They usually occur before the corresponding non-nasal plosives, viz., **k**, **kh**, **g**, **gh**, and **[c]** **[ch]**, **[J]**, **[Jh]**, except, perhaps, in the Reshí sub-dialect*. **[ń]** and **[n˜]** have no plosion as they occur in consonant groups as initial members.

IV. 3. ii(a). [m]

[m] is a bilabial voiced nasal consonant. The position of the

*See Introduction, p. 24.

lips is the same as for **[b]** but the nasal passage is open and the air also passes through it. At the point of secondary articulation, the lower lip considerably comes down, as in **már,** beating. But in an unstressed position there is very little coming down of the lower lip, as in **maĩ̃** in **bhaí maĩ̃ kʌduṇ mʌrná̃,** when have I to die?

More examples—

Initial	Medial
mʌmṭí, turret	**cʌmcá,** spoon
musʌllí, sweeper	**mámá,** uncle
máshkí, water-carrier	**səmián,** goods
mecá, measure.	**cú^muṛ,** point.

Final

ləgám, bridle	**um,** ooze out
thúm, garlic	**lilám,** auction

kuṛum, bride's or bridegroom's father.

IV. 3. ii(b). [n]

[n] is an alveolar voiced consonant in Awankari. The tongue position for **[t], [th], [d]** and **[dh]** is certainly more forward than for **[n],** in which case the tip, together with the blade, of the tongue touches the teeth-ridge only. Compare—

(1)	(2)
nʌk, nose	**ninán,** husband's sister
nəlger, cocoa-nut	**bánṇú,** a cloth
netrá, thong of churn	**me^rbání,** kindness
nisrí, sugar.	**moná̃,** one who has his hair cut.

(3)

dukán, shop	**kʌn,** ear
zín, saddle	**məshín,** machine.

IV. 3. ii(c). [ṇ]

In the articulation of **[ṇ],** a voiced cerebral nasal plosive, the tip of the tongue is curled back against the ridge of the hard palate and comes down as in the case of **[ṭ]** and **[ḍ].** At plosion, some air

also passes through the mouth, while the nasal cavity is open throughout the period of stop and plosion.

[ṇ] does not occur initially. Medial and final **[ṇ]** may be noted in—

(1)	(2)
káṇá, one-eyed	**mʌṇ,** maund
kʌṇká̃, wheat crops	**lávuṇ,** cooked saltish prep.
so^ṇá, beautiful	**mukáṇ,** condolence meeting
hərámṇí, bastard (f.)	**bhaĩṇ,** sister
səváṇí, wife.	**súṇ,** name of a tract.

IV. 3. ii(c, d). [n̄] and [ń]

In awankari proper, **[n̄]** does not occur without the following palato-alveolar non-nasal plosive, except, perhaps, in Reshí sub-dialect, in which, too, there is a slight **[J]** or **[j]** like resonance. The tongue acts in the same way as for **[J],** except that in the articulation of **[n̄]** it is laxer.

[ń] is a velar nasal and corresponds to **[g].**

The two consonants are unimportant, and fuller treatment may be expected in a study of some other Lahndi dialect where they are independent phonemes. In Reshí, too, there is a slight **[J]**-like resonance in the case of **[n̄]** and **[g]**-like impression with **[ń].** Examples—

[n̄]	[ń]
in̄Je, for nothing	**mʌńg,** ask
vʌn̄J, go	**vʌńgá̃,** bracelets
sʌpkun̄J, slough	**ḍińgá,** curved, crooked
mun̄J, send.	**cuńg,** handful.

IV. 3. iii. Laterals

Laterals are formed by placing an obstacle of the tongue in the centre of the air passage, so that the air comes out from one or both sides of the obstacle. **[l]** and **[ʟ]** in Awankari are the two lateral consonants.

IV. 3. iii(a). [l]

In the articulation of Awankari [l] the tip and blade of the tongue touches the back portion of the teeth-ridge, somewhat near [n]-position. The back of the tongue also rises a little as the sound issues out of the vibrating vocal chords. The air, no doubt, comes from both sides of the tongue, but as I feel, more from right hand side than from the left.

[l] in Awankari is an initial consonant. It may begin a word as well as a syllable. Some Hindus in the Awankari tract as already explained in the Introduction, do pronounce it in medial and final positions.

[l] is a purely alveolar sound.

ləsúṛá, cordia myxa
les, glue — **lissá**, weak
lukáí, people — **lúṇí**, butter.

Hindus' medial and final [l]

ɬ álá, father — **cɑ̃ul**, rice
pávli, weaver — **cʌkvál**, name of a place
mɑ̃ulá, a name. — **súl**, cholic pain.

IV. 3. iii(b). [ʟ]

[ʟ] is a very important and peculiar sound in Awankari. It is an extremely difficult consonant for foreigners, and even for many other Lahndi speakers. Hindus, especially in big villages, cannot pronounce it. I had also to learn it with effort. As heard by me, it is formed as follows :—

(a) Very immediately before the sound actually rises, the pharyngal cavity is widened as in the articulation of Arabic [q].

(b) The epiglottis is raised.

(c) The tip of the tongue is simultaneously curled back towards the hard palate, so as to close the air channel in the centre.

(d) The back of the tongue is raised towards the soft palate.

(e) The air escapes from both sides laterally and the tongue is lowered.

(f) The larynx rises higher than in the case of [l].*

[ʟ] may be described as a lateral cerebral voiced consonant. Examples are—

mʌʟkáʟ, Maliks — **máʟ**, cattle
gʌʟmá˜, neck of a pitcher or shirt — **phərоʟ**, poke
súʟí, gallows — **khoʟ**, open
máʟí, gardener — **ʌkváʟ**, name of a village

etc., etc.

IV. 3. iv. Rolled [r]

[r] is an alveolar rolled consonant. A rolled consonant in Awankari is formed in the following way :

The tip of the tongue at the point of articulation is raised against the teeth-ridge and thus the air-channel is alternately closed and opened a number of times with such rapidity that the whole sound strikes the ear as forming a single consonant ; in other words, the tip of the tongue makes a very rapid succession of taps against the middle of the teeth-ridge.

In the pronunciation of Awankari [r], the tip of the tongue trills twice, in normal conditions, against the teeth-ridge. [r] is fully pronounced in all positions of a word. Examples—

(1)

rʌgṛá, botheration
rásá˜, reins
rʌn, wife
ráṇí, queen.

(2)

səkárí, mud-built granary
shoruá, soup
nihárá, bier
úrá, a kind of wheel for yarn.

(3)

sətʌttur, 77 — **sʌrpʌr**, quite
dúr, distant — **zərúr**, must
kʌr, do.

**As heard by another phonetician :*

Part of the tongue becomes shaped like a cup, and a large quantity of air is collected in this cup, giving rise to a sound partly somewhat similar to English [l] *and partly somewhat like Awankari* [ɽ]. *If we take the tongue to the position for* [ɽ] *and pronounce* [l], *we get the sound.*

IV. 3. v. Flapped [ɽ]

[ɽ] is a retroflex [r].

The place of articulation of [ɽ] is the same as of [ṭ]. In making this sound, the tip of the tongue curling back makes a single tap against the palate and then rapidly comes down with a flap against the upper part of the lower teeth-ridge.

Awankari [ɽ] may thus be described as a cerebral (retroflex) flapped plosive consonant.

It never begins a word.

Medially	Finally
pí^ɽá, a seat	**kúɽ**, lie
tráɽí, clapping	**kiráɽ**, shopkeeper
səɽá˜d, burnt smell	**síɽ**, sew
kəɽá^í, pudding	**troɽ**, break
məkɑ̃ɽá, an insect.	**treɽ**, dew.

IV. 3. vi. Fricatives

Fricative consonants are formed by narrowing the air-passage to such an extent that the air in escaping produces a kind of hissing sound due to friction with the articulating organs.

Awankari has the following fricative consonants, as shown in the table—

[f], [s], [z], [sh], [x], [G] and **[h]**. **[f]** is labio-dental, **[s]** and **[z]** dento-alveolar, **[sh]** palato-alveolar, **[x]** and **[G]** uvular and **[h]** glottal.

Again, **[f], [s], [sh]** and **[x]** are breathed consonants; and **[z], [G]** and **[h]**, voiced consonants.

Of these, **[s]** and **[h]** are most common. Next comes **[sh]**. **[z], [f], [x]** and **[G]** are found in about one hundred words each.

IV. 3. vi(a). [f]

[f] is a labio-dental correspondent of **[ph]**. In the articulation of **[f]**, the inside of lower lip touches the upper teeth and the air escapes with a single friction. The tongue remains in position for

retracted [ə]. **[f]** occurs in a number of words borrowed from Persian, Arabic or English. Examples are—

(1)	(2)
fəkír, beggar	**káfur**, atheist
fɑ̃uz, army	**lifáfá**, envelope
fɑ̃idá, gain	**kulfí**, ice-cream
fərebí, cheat	**váfur**, extra
fel, fail.	**ʌfsur**, officer.

(3)

sɑ̃u˜f, anise fruit	**ʌshráf**, gentleman
súf, black rag of cloth	**kʌluf**, a dye
suluf, purchases.	

IV. 3. vi(b). [s]

Awankari **[s]** is nearly the same as English [s]. The tip of the tongue comes between the teeth and the blade rises towards the teeth-ridge, thus trying to narrow the air channel. There is simultaneous raising of the front of the tongue towards the palate. The lower lip very slightly goes forward and is raised.

Awankari **[s]** is thus a dento-alveolar voiceless fricative.

Examples—

(1)	(2)
sʌJJá, right	**kosá**, lukewarm
səváɲí, wife	**bussá**, un-ornamented
sʌrfá, miserliness	**kəsídá**, embroidery
sútur, cotton-yarn.	**nisrí**, sugar

(3)

mes, pretence	**hʌmso˜s**, sorrow
məlihʌs, wife's uncle's wife	**ákhius**, he said to him.

IV. 3. vi(c). [z]

[z] is the voiced correspondent of **[s]**, but it is much less common than the latter. Examples are—

(1)	(2)
zián, loss	**mizmán**, guest

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zənáˆ, adultery	**vəzír**, minister
zāmˆr, poison	**roze**, fasts
zāildár, a village official.	**izun**, exchange.

(3)

həváz, sound	**Jəház**, ship
dʌruz, crack	**fāuz**, army.

IV. 3. vi(d). [sh]

In the articulation of **[sh]** the tip of the tongue slightly touches the lower teeth, the blade appears to touch the upper teeth, and the front together with a part of the middle of the tongue is raised towards the hard palate. As the result of this tongue position, the air-channel is wider and longer than for **[s]**; and friction is greater because of the violence of breath and the tension of the tongue. The lips are laxer.

Awankari **[sh]** is a palato-alveolar voiceless fricative consonant. Compare—

(1)	(2)
shálá, may God wish it	**básbá**, hawk
shikárú, hunter	**məshín**, machine
shoˆrá, ashamed	**goshút**, meat
shúm, miser.	**pishāur**, Peshawar.

(3)

húsh, vulgar	**tásh**, playing cards
āi˜sh, pleasure	**səresh**, glue.

IV. 3. vi(ə). [x]

[x] is the uvular fricative correspondent of the plosive **[kh]**, but it is more backward than the latter. It is, however, much more forward than Persian [x]. The contact of the back of the tongue with the soft palate is not quite close and allows a narrow passage for air. The tongue is lax and friction is not as distinct as in the case of previous fricatives. It is more obvious in the speech of Muslims than of Hindus. Examples—

(1)

xʌt, card	**jʌxní**, meat soup
xurJín, a part of saddle	**nixtá**, came out
xátrá˜, entertainments	**məxāul**, fun
xʌnzír, swine.	**málxolíá**, malencholia.

(3)

shex, a convert	**jʌx**, frozen
səláx, bar.	

IV. 3. vi(f). [G]

[G] is the voiced correspondent of **[x]**, but more backward than the plosive **[gh]**. The back and centre of the tongue rises a bit higher than for **[g]**.

(1)	(2)
Gunáˆ, sin	**ləGám**, bridle
Gulel, catapult	**roGun**, paint
Gāib, unseen place.	**lʌGər**, twig.

(3)

deG, cauldron	**báG**, garden
dáG, burn.	

The number of words containing **[G]** is very small. It is generally pronounced as **[g]**.

IV. 3. vi(g). [h]

[h] in Awankari is a voiced glottal fricative consonant. The tongue is nearly in position for **[a]**; but in articulating **[h]** the rise about its root is clearly felt. Thus the sound meets appreciable obstacle in the glottis and escapes with friction.

Awankari **[h]** occurs either initially or intervocalicly. In latter position it must begin a stressed syllable.

Initial	Medial
háṇ, of same age	**lihák**, a young camel
hoṭá, heart	**vəhíkṇí**, drain
hərdeo, a name	**nihánṇí**, barber's wife
hiráṇ, surprised.	**luhá˜ḍá**, an iron pot.

IV. 3. vii. Semi-Vowels

Semi-vowel is a voiced gliding sound in which the articulating organs start in the position of a vowel of comparatively small sonority and leave it immediately to take up the position of an equally sonorous or more sonorous sound. The whole does sound like a consonant, but it cannot be strictly called a consonant which requires a maintenance of a definite position of the speech-organs for an appreciable time.

Awankari, like many other Indian dialects, contains two semi-vowels, represented by [j] and [v]. The latter is much more frequent than the former.

It has to be noted that both these semi-vowels occur either initially or medially. The consonantal value is clear in the initial position of a word or in the beginning of a syllable.

IV. 3. vii(a). [j]

In the articulation of the palato-alveolar [j], the organs of speech start somewhere near the position of [i] and the tongue in the action of proceeding to the following vowel just slightly raises its blade and front towards the teeth-ridge.

Awankari [j] is more of a vowel than a consonant. It is a pure semi-vowel in medial position. It does not occur at the end of words. Compare—

Initial	Medial
jár, friend	**vijá^** (Reshí), marriage
jálá, By God	**má^íjá,** lover.
jávuṇ, to copulate	
jamlá, idiot.	

Medially as a glide between diphthongal, triphthongal or tetraphthongal elements, the glidal [j] has the weakest consonantal quality.

tá(j)í, uncle's wife
khú(j)í, well (obl.)
mətre(j)í, step mother
moí(j)e, abuse in endearment
vəḍiáí(j)á˜, greatnesses.

IV. 3. vii(b). [v]

In the articulation of the labio-dental semi-vowel [v], the speech-organs start in position for [u], the lower lip moves towards and touches the upper teeth, and the tongue remains motionless except that the tip moves up a bit.

Initially, it is more of a consonant than a vowel.

vəhaulá, a kind of spade
vʌ^í, account book
vʌkhrá, separate
vá˜dá, empty
velṇá, a ginning roller.

Medially in an unstressed syllable it is a pure semi-vowel.

lává, a village — but **kəlvʌtrí,** saw
revṛí, a sweetmeat — but **suvʌxte,** in time
kávuṛ, anger — but **siváí,** charges for tailoring.

Between the elements of diphthongs, triphthongs and tetraphthongs, [v] is much more of a vowel than a consonant.

hʌú(v)á, devil
dho(v)ú, one about to wash
ghináú(v)o, are you about to let us take ;
etc.

V

PHONETIC TREATMENT OF CONSONANTS

V

PHONETIC TREATMENT OF CONSONANTS

1. (i) Plosion.
   (ii) Aspiration.
      (a) Initial.
      (b) Intervocalic.
      (c) Final.
   (iii) Retroflexion.
2. Nasality of Nasal Consonants.
3. Further Notes on Liquids and [l], [ɾ].
   (i) l.
   (ii) r.
   (iii & iv) l, ɾ.
4. Phonetic Treatment of Fricatives.

V. 1. i. Plosion

The Plosive consonants behave in various manners as regards their plosion.

(1) The normal form of plosion will be found initially in unstressed monosyllables, as in

pál, line	**tel,** oil	**ṭak,** a cut
cor, thief	**ṭhár,** coldness	**geṛ,** wind (v.)
bhíṛ, crowd	**Jhát,** peep	etc.

(2) Initially, again, plosion is more distinct when the vowel after a plosive is followed by another plosive. Compare—

gʌp, gossip	and	**gʌl,** talk
kʌp, cut (v.)		**kʌr,** do
Jaṭ, a Jat		**Jʌm,** born
ghʌt, place (v.)		**ghʌs,** rub
kheḍ, play		**khes,** a sheet.

(3) Plosion is very clearly perceptible before a high tone, e.g.,

kəpá^, cotton	**səbá^lá,** bestman
utá^˜, upward	**tudhá^˜,** to you
tho^rí, travelling merchant	**ṭo^bhí,** a wooden pot
ṭəṭí^rí, a bird	**go^ṛí,** a dose of powdered medicine
cá^lí, forty.	

(4) It is also marked when the vowel after the plosive is followed by an aspirated consonant (aspiration being a kind of tone). Examples—

pígh, swing (n.)	**puch,** ask (v.)
ṭhúṭhí, a cup	**to˜ḍhá,** yours
khʌ^gh, cough	**cúthí,** hinge
giṭh, span of fingers	**dukhuṇ,** to pain.

(5) In a stressed syllable plosion is stronger than otherwise. In **giṭkár,** a sound of fingers, **[k]** is more exploded than **[g],** in **ṭəṭí^rí,** a bird, the second **[ṭ]** is more exploded, and in **ṭhʌ^ḍá ṭhok,** satisfied, the second **[ṭh]** is more exploded although the first is followed by a tone. In **bitá^lí,** 42, **[t]** is more exploded than **[b].**

(6) Plosion before long vowels is rather weak as the release is lengthened. Compare—

pullí, soft	and	**polí,** hollow
til, sesamum-seed		**tel,** oil
pʌk, ripen		**pák,** puss
giṭ.á, ankle		**giṭá,** pebble
Jhuṭ.í, snatch (n.)		**Jhúṭe,** swings
ṭʌr, breaking wind		**ṭaír,** pony.

(7) Plosion is more vigorous when front consonants (labials, dentals, alveolars) are followed by front vowels, and back consonants (cerebrals and gutturals) by back vowels. The position of the tongue in the case of vowels and consonants in the above combinations being almost identical, the contact of the articulating organs is close and thus when the closure is suddenly released, air escapes

with greater violence than otherwise. Compare—

(i) **píḍá,** hard	**paĩ˜ḍá,** distance	**peṛá,** a big tablet of sweet
	and	
pár, across	**polá,** hollow	**púrá,** full.
(ii) **kiṛá,** insect	**kiruk,** sand	**kelá,** banana
	and	
kálá, black	**korá,** unused	**kú˜J,** water fowl.
(iii) **tel,** oil	**til,** sesamum	**tírá,** front of shirt
	and	
táro, float	**tolá,** tola	**tuk,** saying.
(iv) **vʌḍḍí,** big (fem.)	and	**vʌḍḍá,** big (masc.).
(v) **koṭhe,** rooms	and	**koṭhá,** room.
	etc.	

(8) In medial position of a word plosion is strongest; it is weakest finally, when it is practically lost. Compare—

Initial	Medial	Final
pot, embroidered cloth	**ṭopí,** cap	**top,** cannon
cáṛá, wide	**pácá,** foot of trousers	**khuruc,** scratch
boká, bucket	**tʊ̃bá˜,** repentence	**nəváb,** Nawab
kolá, coal	**bokú,** bucket	**məlúk,** tender
ṭísí, top	**síṭí,** whistle	**Jhəríṭ,** bruise
ḍorá, deaf	**goḍá,** knee	**gáḍ,** reel
der, husband's brother.	**maĩdá,** flour.	**kaĩd,** prison.

It may be noted in the final plosives above that on account of abhinidhána, only the stop is pronounced. When plosion is heard it is always belated.

(9) When the plosion is at the end of a sentence, it is less exploded than in any other position. Compare—

(i) **nʌp khaṛ,** catch away
and **zará ki nʌp,** take a little.

(ii) **ʌJ má^˜ kʌm e,** to-day I have some work
and **maĩ˜ nə^˜ ásá˜ ʌJ,** I shall not come to-day.

(iii) **rát áí,** night came
and **huṇ á gʌí rát,** now the night approached.

(10) In a double consonant the plosion (as also aspiration) of the first plosive is lost.

Examples—

muddá, duration	**suttá,** slept
pʌkkí, firm	**lugge,** alone
gicci, neck	**miṭṭi,** earth
ghərviJJú, an animal	**mʌtthá,** forehead
əpuṭṭhi, upside down	**vʌkkhí,** sides.

(11) Immediately before a plosive of the same place of articulation (i.e., breathed and voiced plosive, or voiced and breathed correspondent) plosion disappears appreciably. (See also the chapter on 'Voice and Breath').

gʌp báz, a gossip	**sʌc Ji hoiá,** it is true
lʌk gʌí, licked away	**nʌṭ ḍúm,** menials
sʌt dá^ sətá^rá~, seven and ten make seventeen	
kʌJ choṛ, cover up	**lʌg ki,** attentively
sʌd tə~ sʌ^í, just call up	
rʌb púrá kʌre, God may end it well.	

(12) In a consonant group also the plosion of the first element is retarded. Compare the following with the above—

sʌpgo, lizard	**Jʌṭbúṭ,** simple-minded
ukpuk, end	**kʌtrúk,** a little
puchsá^~, we shall ask	**lʌghsí,** will pass.

V. 1. ii. Aspiration

Consonants are said to be aspirated when after the separation of the articulating organs, violent breath in one volume issues out immediately at the release of obstruction, as in Awan. **[ph], [bh], [ch], [Jh], [th], [dh], [ṭh], [ḍh], [kh], [gh]** and **[h].**

Aspirated plosives are fully aspirated, i.e., a full **[h]** sound is inserted between their plosion and the following vowel. In the process of pronunciation, the plosive and aspiration in **[h]** are so blended and mixed that they are one sound. Punjabi and English sounds show a separate identity of **[g]** and **[h]** in **[gh],** but in Awankari there is nothing which may show **[gh]** as **[g-h].**

Awankari aspirated consonants are similar to those in Hindustani.

In the articulation of these consonants, the position of the tongue is slightly more forward than for their unaspirated correspondents. It is the force of the breath that unconsciously pushes the tongue further. Compare—

pá^, manure	and	**bhá^,** ash
bolí, dialect		**bholí,** simple-minded
cʌ̃~trí, 34		**chʌtrí,** 36
Játá, known		**Jháṭá,** front hair
tákṛí, window		**ṭhákrí,** a name
ḍol, bucket		**ḍhol,** drum
giṭṭá, ankle		**ghiḍḍá,** crooked legged.

[h] has got an extremely weak aspiration. Compare—

hʌl, move	and	**khʌl,** stand
hoṛ, forbid		**choṛ,** leave
nihánṇí, wife of a barber		**Jiṭhánṇí,** husband's brother's wife
hʌrí, a name		**bhʌrí,** a load
hʌṭ, away		**phʌṭ,** wound
kəhánṇí, story		**mədhánṇí,** churn
kuhárṛí, axe		**kuṭhálí,** crucible.

Aspiration in voiced consonants is weaker than in the breathed plosives. Compare—

ghoṭ, grind	and	**khoṭ,** alloy
Jhúṭá, swing		**chúṭá,** an abuse
ṭhú~gá, jerk		**ḍhú~gá,** hip
əṭhái, 28		**əḍhái,** two and a half
methrí, fenugreek		**meḍhí,** braid
phu^phí, aunt		**khu^bhí,** thrust
	etc.,	etc.

Aspiration in palatals and gutturals is much less than in labials, dentals or cerebrals. In the latter consonant the articulating organs (lips or tongue) act more tensely than in the former cases. Compare—

pʌkhí, fan	and	**pʌdhí,** steep
kʌcchá, drawers		**kuṭṭhá,** killed
mʌcchí, fish		**vʌḍḍhí,** bribe
	and	**Jʌpphí,** wrestling
soghá, intact		**Jobhá,** pocket
	or	**sobhá,** a name
máJhá, of buffalo		**ḍá^ḍhá,** strong
	etc.,	etc.

Aspiration of each consonant varies under different conditions.

V. 1. ii(a). Initial

(1) It is normally strong in the beginning of a monosyllabic word, as in—

phuṭ, crack — **chik**, pull
bheḍ, sheep — **Jhul**, body cloth of cattle
thʌṇ, teat — **khiṭ**, running
ṭhʌp, pat — **ghuṭ**, choke, press
dhí, daughter — **hoṛ**, forbid
ḍhol, drum etc.

On the other hand, it is very slightly reduced in the beginning of a polysyllabic word. Compare with the above—

phuṭí, cotton — **chikká**, a hanger
bheḍá˜, sheep (pl.) — **Jhulká**, handful of fuel
ṭhʌp:e, pats — **ghuṭʌnná˜**, trousers
dhírá˜, slowness (obl.) — **hoṛá**, pecker
ḍholuk, a small drum etc.

(2) Initially, again, it is stronger before rounded vowels—**[o]**, **[ɔ̄]**, **[u]**, and **[ú]**—than before other vowels (i.e., **[á]**, **[ʌ]**, **[í]**, **[e]**, etc.). It is perhaps the rounding of lips that favours an enriched emission of breath. Compare—

ghol, dissolve and **ghál**, echo-word
khɔ̄ul, boil — **khʌl**, stay
Jhul, body-cloth — **Jhʌl**, fan
Jhúṇ, wave (v.) — **Jhát**, peep
ṭhokur, stumble — **ṭhíkrí**, potsherd
ḍhú^ḍh, search — **ḍhi^ḍh**, belly
dhoṛe, hedge — **dhele**, half-pice
húsh, wild — **hʌs**, laugh
hosh, sense — **his**, extinguished.

(3) It is stronger still in a toned or stressed word or syllable. Compare—

khus, be torn — **khul**, open
— **nikhuṭ**, finished
ḍhil, delay — **ḍhi^ḍ**, belly
chá˜vá˜ ci bɔ̄^, and **mɔ̄i˜ chá^vá˜ ci bá^sá˜**,
sit in the shade I will sit in shade
mághá, dear.

Compare also **[h]** in the following—

hʌl tə^ ghin vʌ˜Je˜ á˜, plough you had to take away
and **hʌl pí^á vɔ̄i^ná**, he is ploughing.
háṇí, of same age, and **ku'háṛí**, axe.

(4) In a pre-accentual and post-accentual position, it is considerably reduced. Compare—

o bhái, O man
bhái mɔ̄i˜ kí kʌrá˜, well, what may I do?
cʌl bhái, let us go, man

also

bhiṭ, be polluted — **bhi'ṭá**, pollute
ghin, take — **ghi'ná**, make take

and

hʌr vele, every time — **hərnám**, a name.

(5) In a consonant group, it is very strong. Compare—

dhelá, half pice and **dhrel**, onom. sound
phál, blade — **phlál**, a kind of preparation
gholí, dissolved — **ghṛolí**, a small pitcher
khote, ass (obl.) — **khroṛe**, hoofs
bhʌrí, load — **bhrívuṇ**, to be filled

etc., etc.

Initially, consonant-groups have generally liquids as their second members.

Aspiration in the above is so strong that a Svarabhakti is clearly heard between the two members of the consonant-group.

V. 1. ii(b). Intervocalic

(6) Intervocalic aspiration is weaker than initial aspiration in normal conditions. In the former case, aspiration is divided between the preceding vowel and the consonant itself. The vowel, especially the short one before an aspirated consonant, always takes a tone in Awankari.

khopá, cocoa-nut — **pɔ̄ukhá**, omen
bhʌgul, blanket — **gʌbhrú**, husband
ghúkí, delirium — **kʌ^ghí**, comb
dhárá, robbery — **rádho**, a name
ṭhul:á, fat — **lʌṭh:á**, long cloth
ḍhívur, cook — **re˜ḍhi**, a vegetable fruit.

(7) It increases in a stressed syllable. Examples—

lə'bhái, a name	**su'khʌl,** ease
ə'kháṇ, saying	**mə'kháṇe,** a sweetmeat
mə'dháṇi, churn	**dhir'kháṇú,** fruit of a tree
bhi'rá, brother	but **bhə'rosá,** support
khəṭá, make earn	**dhu'vá,** get washed.

(8) It is extremely reduced before a plosive, nasal and [s] and [sh], as in

sikh tə̃ sʌ^i, learn you may	**liphná,** bends
baiṭhká̃, sitting rooms	**nich gʌi,** got angry
kʌḍh sʌṭ, turn out	**hʌth shʌth,** hand (echo-word)

but

sikhṛá, a Sikh **mʌJhlá,** a sheet of cloth.

Of course, the words containing an aspirated consonant before a plosive or [s] and [sh] are very rare. The combination is met with in connected speech.

V. 1. ii(c). Final Aspiration

(9) As a rule, final aspirated consonants lose much of their aspiration before a pause and in isolated words. Compare—

ghʌt, place (v.)	and	**lʌgh,** pass
ḍherni, a spinning tool		**ḍe^ḍh,** one-and-a-half
chá̃, shade		**rich,** bear
ṭhʌ^ḍiá̃, small-pox		**ḍʌṭh,** opening ceremony
thun, lips		**nʌth,** nose ring
dhágá, yarn		**shirádh,** a funeral ceremony
bhʌṭh, showy marks		**ṭʌbh,** over-filled

etc., etc.

(10) Aspirated consonants at the end of a word are further reduced in aspiration before an initial plosive, [s] and [sh] of the following word, as noted above in V. 1. ii(b), (8).

(11) Before an initial vowel (more so before a short vowel) of the following word, the final aspirated consonant sounds like a double or long consonant, and aspiration is consequently increased, as in—

liph usá^̃ ai^, spleen he has

zʌrá vekh us ki kitá, just see what he has done

hik giṭh isá^̃ de, a span give him

kuJh odur piá, somewhat sad he has become.

(12) In a combination—aspirated consonant and vowel and aspirated consonant—the final aspiration is remarkably reduced even in connected, pauseless, speech, and even before an initial vowel of the following words. Compare—

ḍhú^ḍh, search, **ḍhú^ḍh áṇ,** search and bring, **ḍhúḍh bhái,** search, man.

bhu^kh, hunger, **bhu^kh bhʌ̃gṛe,** hungry days, **bhu^kh usá^̃ már sʌṭṭá,** hunger has killed him.

dhʌkh, louse, **dhʌkh ith:e koi nʌ^i̇̃,** louse there is none.

ḍhi^ḍh, belly, **ḍhi^ḍh aiḍá ai^s,** belly he has so much.

khu^bh, thrust, **khu^bh ki,** thrustingly, **khu^bh i̇ giá,** thrust is even he.

In these cases, the aspiration is also weaker than intervocalic aspiration noted in No. (6) above.

Examples of syllables with the above combination are not very common.

It is for comparative phonologists to investigate further the behaviour of aspirated consonants in Sandhi. One dialect cannot provide an adequate number of combinations on which solid research can be based. Being India's monopoly she can export to the world rich phonetic material in this line.

V. 1. iii. Retroflexion

[ṭ], [ṭh], [ḍ], [ḍh], [ṇ] and [ṛ]* are the six retroflex sounds in Awankari. They have been severally considered in the preceding pages. Here may be noted certain general characteristics of these consonants as retroflex sounds.

It may be noted that the activity of the tongue in the articulation of retroflex consonants is more tense and prolonged than in the case of any other consonants. That is, perhaps, why the number of words with more than one retroflex consonant is not very large in Awankari. The number of syllables in which two retroflex consonants occur is less. Compare the action of the tongue in the

**Also* [ɭ] *in the dialect of villagers.*

following—

várá, a clay cup	and	**vaṛá**, cotton
vʌtte, roamed		**vʌṭṭe**, stones
vʌdhí, increased		**vʌḍhí**, bribe
kãũrá, chestnut-eyed		**kãũṛá**, bitter
morí, hole		**moṛo**, turn
phá^, strangulation		**ṭhá~**, onom. sound
kol, with		**ḍoL**, bucket
cãũl, rice		**ḍãũL**, condition
bodí, hair-top		**ṭoḍí**, young she-camel

etc., etc.

[ṛ] and [ṇ] do not occur in the same words. Compare the infinitives

vʌ~Juṇ, to go, but **pʌ^ṛun**, to read
khávuṇ, to eat, but **páṛun**, to tear
ghoṭuṇ, to grind, but **troṛun**, to break

etc., etc.

[ṛ] or [ṇ] cannot begin a word while other retroflex consonants do. [ṛ] or [ṇ] may, however, begin a non-initial syallable, as in—

ṭãĩ~ṇá, dwarfish	**leḍṇá**, camel-dung
bhə~ṛeí, niece	**gá^ṇe**, ornaments
troṛá, an ornament	**ghʌṛí**, watch
go^ṛí, a medicine	**dáṇá**, grain

etc., etc.

The resonance of retroflex consonants is greater than that of others. Compare—

máro, kill	and	**máṛí**, upper storey
pícá, small		**víṭá**, spilt
khotá, donkey		**khoṭá**, forged
kosá, luke-warm		**koṭhá**, house
kání, reed-pen		**káṇí**, one eyed
budhí, a name		**buḍhí**, old woman
ṭáki, a rag		**káṭhí**, saddle
bárí, window		**báṭí**, a pot
torá, a name		**troṛá**, sack, an ornament.

Retroflexion does not allow these plosives to form a close contact in consonant groups. A kind of pause or svarabhakti is heard, especially when both the members of a consonant group are retroflex.

Compare—

trãĩ, three	**ḍərá**, frighten
khatrí, a caste	**ṭáṭrí**, tartar
má~dri, snake-charmer	**á~ḍṛe**, eggs
oprí, stranger	**bãũ^ṭṛí**, wife
trʌklá, spindle	**buḍhṛá**, oldish
dostí, friendship	**bu~ḍṛí**, hip
citrá, tiger	**piṭṇá**, quarrel.

But

(a) Retroflex plosives proper may occur as double or long consonants but not so [ṛ] and [ṇ]. Examples like the following are common—

vʌṭṭá, stone	**piṭṭú**, one who cries much
ḍʌḍḍú, frog	**luḍḍí**, a kind of dance
nʌḍhá, young boy	etc.

(b) In a consonant-group of unaspirated and aspirated cerebral (both breathed or both voiced), there is no svarabhakti. Compare—

buḍḍhá, old	**nʌṭṭhá**, run-away
ghiḍḍá, crooked legged	**lʌṭṭhá**, long cloth.

The quality of retroflexion changes under particular conditions which also affect the position of articulation of these consonants. Thus more members of the normal phonemes are formed, as detailed below—

(1) Retroflexion is weaker after close vowels than before open ones. Compare—

beṛí, boat	and	**bhãĩṛí**, bad
búṭí, herb		**báṭí**, a utensil
suṇo~, listen		**moṇí**, a quality of sweetmeat
lúḍá, darling		**kãũḍú**, a nick-name
liṭṭá~, matted hair		**leṭí**, gluish flour.

(2) Retroflexion is strong in a toned or stressed syllable. Compare—

ṭál, avoid	**ṭá^lí**, a tree	**əṭárí**, turret
máṛí, bad	**sá^ṛí**, saree	**məsiáṛí**, Murree hills
ḍoḍe, pods	**ḍho^ḍe**, bread	**kəlḍoḍe**, soap-nuts
beṛí, boat	**bhə~ṛeí**, sister's daughter	etc.

(3) Retroflexion is stronger in the case of aspirated retroflex consonants. Compare—

ḍoḍe, pods and **ḍhoḍhe** (Reshí), loaves

V

ḍole, small pitchers — ḍhole, songs
paṭvárí, a village official — puṭhvárí, Pothohari dialect
káṭ, card — káṭh, wood.

(4) Retroflexion is stronger before diphthongs or triphthongs than before simple vowels. Compare—

ḍho, carry — and — ḍhoí, position
nʌṛí, reed — bhə̃ṛeí, niece
ṭoṭá, piece — khəṭáú, that which brings money
vʌḍí, big (fem.) — vəḍiáí, greatness
kuṭá, beaten — kuṭáí, beating
ḍol, bucket — ḍaul, condition
ḍhiná, is obtained — ḍhiuṇá, getting
kuṛí, woman — kuṛie, O Lady

etc.

(5) Initial retroflexion is stronger than final. Compare—

ṭuk, cut — and — kuṭ, beating
ṭʌsh, ostentation — sʌṭ, hurt
ṭhaĩ̃ṇá, smallish — uṇáṭh, 59
ḍikár, belch — rikáḍ, record
ṭoḍá, young of a camel — mʌmḍoṭ, name of a village
ḍhák, hip — sáḍh, half.

(6) Initial retroflexion is also stronger than the intervocalic, if the latter has a single consonant. Compare—

ṭimmá̃, dwarfish — and — ṭoṭá, piece
ṭoká, a cutter — khoṭá, forged
ḍerí, delay — beḍí, blank
ṭhákri, a name — káṭhi, saddle
ḍhívur, cook — cú^̃ḍhi, pinch
ḍhú^ḍh, search (v.) — ḍhú^ḍho, search (imp.)

etc., etc.

(7) But initial retroflexion is weaker than the intervocalic, if the latter has a double or long consonant.

ṭimmá, dwarfish — but — miṭṭí, earth
ṭukkí, cut — kuṭṭi, powdered
ḍʌg, un-assuming, inferior — gʌḍḍí, train
ḍhʌ^n, pond in a stream — nʌḍḍhá, young boy
ḍub, drown — buḍḍá, drowned.

(8) It is stronger before gutturals than before dentals and palatals. The former being remote from the cerebrals, retroflexion

2.

is maintained strongly; while the distance between cerebrals and dentals or palatals is too short to allow full retroflexion. The more backward the consonant, the stronger the retroflexion. Compare—

sʌṭke, after throwing and — sʌṭṭá sʌí, threw them
sʌṭkhá̃, throw please — sʌṭ thoṛá Ji^á, throw a little
sʌṭ giá, threw away — sʌṭ dhelá, throw a half pice
sʌṭ ghin, throw take — sʌṭ cá, throw do
sʌṭ choṛ, throw away

etc., etc.

also

sʌṛkáṁ, roads — kʌṛchí, ladle
sʌṛgʌí, burnt away — bhʌṛthú, a preparation of brinjal
vʌṛ tá̃, do enter

etc., etc.

V. 2. Nasality of Nasal consonants

The nasal consonants have varying degrees of nasality, which is very clear in the articulation of [ṅ] and [n̆]. It is slightly decreased in [n] and [ṇ]. Nasality in [m] is much less. Phonetically, it is the distance between the opening of the nasal cavity and the tongue position at articulation which accounts for this variation.

(1) Nasality of initial nasal consonants (i.e., [m] and [n]) is a bit weaker than when they are intervocalic. Compare—

nikul, get out — kənál, a measure of land
nephá, a place in trousers — phʌníʌr, cobra
məkāṇṛá, grass-hopper — kumeṛá, deposit on teeth
muháṛí, front — hərámí, bastard
nimáz, prayers — munárá, minaret.

(2) Nasality of the consonant in final position is well marked and lengthened. Compare—

nʌk, nose — kʌn, ear
bəṇá, make — bʌṇ, is made
mʌth:á, forehead — thʌm, pillar
máfi, forgiveness — həfím, opium
kənál, measure of land — məkán, house.

(3) The nasality of all nasal consonants is stronger after a short nasalized vowel than a long vowel. In fact the consonant is heard double in the former condition.

kʌ̃ṇí, drop	**ká̃ṇí,** one-eyed (fem.)
məṛʌ̂̃nní, gallary	**zəbá̃ní,** oral
picṇʌ̃d, name of a village	**niná̃ṇ,** husband's sister
kʌ̃m, work	**ká̃m,** a spoke

etc., etc.

(4) The following examples show that nasality is weak when the preceding vowel is not nasalized. It then begins a syllable clearly.

mu'ná, get shaved	but	**mũn,** shave
ghi'ná, make to take	but	**ghĩn,** take
kəmá, earn	but	**kʌ̃m,** work.

(5) A toned or nasal vowel further increases the nasality of a consonant. Examples—

ná̃, name	**ná̂̃,** no
un, wool	**u̇n,** they
bʌm, bomb	**bhʌ̃m,** earthquake
mic, measure	**mi̇Jh,** marrow
vʌ̃g, bracelet	**ḍhʌ̃g,** entangle
bəṇáí, made	**dhəṇá̂́i,** cowherd.

(6) It follows that the nasality of the vowel strengthens the nasality of the neighbouring consonant. The fact may be further elucidated by taking examples of consonants followed by a vowel, nasalized and un-nasalized.

má, mother	**má̂̃,** me (Reshí)
vāiná, he goes	**vāiná̃,** I go
su'ṇá, tell	**suṇá̃,** I hear.

(7) The effect of nasal consonants on vowels has already been discussed in I. 5. ii.

(8) In the vicinity of the consonants also it is the position of other consonant in the syllable that determines its nasality. Nasality then is a question of syllabication.

If the nasal consonant is the final sound in the syllable it is more nasal than when it begins a syllable.* Compare also with

Consonant groups with a nasal occur only in the medial position of a word.* **[ń] *and* **[n̄]** *do not occur in any other consonant groups excepting those already mentioned.*

Nos. (1) and (2) above. Examples—

miṇká, bead	**mukná̃,** finishing
vʌnti, a name	**vʌtní̃,** country-made
gu̇mṭí, a cloth	**giṭmá̃,** short-sized.

V. 3. Further Notes on liquids and [ʟ], [ɾ]

V. 3. i. [l]

In the articulation of **[l]** the tongue undergoes a variety of movements and tensions before various vowels and consonants, thus giving rise to a number of subsidiary members of the normal phoneme.

(a) The weakest movement and tension of the tongue occurs before **[ʌ]** and **[á]**, as in

lʌt, leg	**lʌk,** waist
láḍ, fondling	**lákh,** sealing wax.

(b) The strongest movement and tension of the tongue occurs before **[í]**, as in

lír, rag	**lík,** line.

Acoustically, **[l]** before **[í]** sounds somewhat like a plosive owing to greater tension.

(c) A considerably less tension and movement of the right side of the tongue occurs before **[i]**, as in

likh, write	**lid,** dung
liṭ, matted hair.	

(d) Before **[ú]**, the tip of the tongue firmly touches the teeth-ridge, and does not come down as before **[ʌ]** and **[á]**. Compare—

lú, hot breeze	**lá,** apply
lúṇ, salt	**lá̃m,** war
lúṇí, butter	**láṇí,** a shrub.

Here also **[l]** is heard somewhat like a plosive, though not so prominently as before **[í]**.

(e) The tension of **[l]** is considerably decreased before various consonants. Thus the tension of **[l]** is slightly greater before **[k]** than before **[v]** in

mʌlká, O Malik	**nʌlvá,** a name

or

molká, O Molak (a name), and **maulví,** Muslim priest.

The sonority or audibility of [l] is greater before [k] than before [v]. Before [k], the tongue is more forward than before [v].

V. 3. ii. [r]

It has been observed that normally [r] has two trills. The subsidiary members are formed under the following conditions—

(a) The number of trills before a high-falling tone is greater than before an untoned vowel. Compare—

ruṛ (Reshí), parch	**ruˆṛ,** flow
rʌ̃ḍí, widow	**reˆ̃ḍhí,** a vegetable fruit
roṛ, pebble	**roˆṛ,** sweep away
rávuṇ, Ravana	**ráˆvuṇ,** to live.

(b) The number of trills of [r] in stressed position is greater than when it is unstressed. Compare—

kiˈráiá, rent	**nihárá,** bier
giˈrá̃, village	**rəvá̃ˆ,** a kind of seed

also

ˈrám rám, rám ˈdásá, Greetings, Ram Das.

(c) The number of trills is greater before long than before short vowels. Compare—

ruṛ, parch	**roṛ,** pebble
rich, bear	**rís,** envy
rʌJ, be satisfied	**ráJ,** government.

(d) The trills before [l] are also considerable. Compare—

marlá, a measure of land, and **murlí,** a kind of reed-pipe.

Note.—The greater the number of trills, the greater is the prominence of [r].

(e) [r] is a little backward before long vowels and high-tone. Compare examples in Nos. (a) and (c) above. Also note—

rʌt, blood	**rát,** night	**ráˆ,** way
rĩJ, angry	**rís,** envy	**riˆJh,** be cooked
rus, displeased	**rús,** Russia	**ruˆ,** soul.

(f) In the initial position, a vocalic [ə] is heard before the first tap of the tongue. Compare—

rʌJ, be satiated	**rákhá,** guardian
reṭhá, soap-nut	**riãit,** concession

rəkebí, plate	**rosá,** estrangement
rupʌíje, rupees	etc.

Further members of the main phoneme are found under various conditions of resonance. For instance—

(1) It is feeble when [r] is followed by a plosive, as in

márká, village club	**shartá̃,** terms
surkhí, brick-dust	**sirdáí,** a cold drink

etc.

(2) Before a stressed syllable, it is further reduced. Examples—

sirdár, a name	**nərpʌt,** a name

rəbábí, a minstrel.

(3) It is considerably weak before [s] and [sh], as in

khursí, chair	**murshud,** disciple, follower
mʌrsí, will die	**mír ˈsháˆ,** a name.

(4) The final [r] is more resonant than the medial one, and the medial [r] more than the initial.

rʌb, God	**borá,** sack	**bʌr,** width
rʌs, taste	**súrá,** O swine	**sur,** tune
roze, fasts	**zorí,** forcibly	**zor,** strength.

(5) A [r] in a stressed syllable or before a toned vowel is pronounced with greater resonance. Compare—

virágá, sad	**rákhá,** guardian
mərroṛí, knot	**mərháJá,** bridegroom
puráṇá, old	**kuráˆ,** bad way.

Also note examples in Nos. (a) and (b) above.

V. 3. iii. and iv. [ṛ] and [ʟ]

The two flapped consonants behave almost alike. They occur only medially and finally.

(1) Their resonance is greater than that of [r] or [l]. Compare—

kaṛrá, chestnut-eyed	**kaṛṛá,** bitter
mor, peacock	**moṛ,** turn
pál (Hindus), line	**páʟ** (Muslims), line
pʌrlá (Hindus), farther	**pʌrʟá** (Muslims), farther.

(2) Their resonance is quite strong medially in normally stressed words.

kaṛṛá, bitter	**áʟú,** potato

V

máṛí, bad **boʟí**, pebble
choṛú, about to leave **pɯ̃ɯ̃ʟe**, shoes.

(3) Before a tone it is stronger. Compare the following with No. (5) below—

kəṛá^, a pudding, **pəṛhává**, support under bedstead

and

cəʟí^á, 40th day, **phuʟá^**, a tree.

(4) After a toned vowel, resonance is much reduced, as in

si^ṛ, string **ko^ṛá**, leper
pí^ṛí, scat **u^ʟur**, throw up
lo^ʟá, simpleton **səbá^ʟá**, bestman.

(5) The resonance of [ṛ] and [ʟ] is also weakened a little when they begin a stressed syllable.

khiṛá~vá~, wooden sandals **dəṛunne**, pods
buṛák, phlegmatic substance

and

əʟá^ṇí, mourning parade **buʟárí**, waitress
siʟvár, trousers.

It is weakest in prestressed and post-stressed syllables.

ghaṛ'vʌ~Jí, pitcher-stand **chʌm'cicṛí**, bat
ghaṛ'váo, make it mend **kuṛ'vʌl**, twist

and

ʌʟ'gʌrzí, neglect **vic'kárʟá**, middle one
cə'meʟí, jasmine.

Note—It may be noted that trills and flapped movements of the tongue increase and decrease with the rise and fall of resonance.

In a consonant group resonance is considerably decreased. But it is stronger in the first member than in the second members.

ukhʟí, mortar **hʌʟká**, mad
ʌgʟá, front one **vʌʟgut**, method
vʌJʟí, a pipe **biʟṭí**, bill

and

dukṛe, tabors **kuṛkuṛ**, onom. sound
ʌmṛí, mother **muṛsí**, will turn
bɯ̃^ṭṛí, wife **kʌṛchí**, ladle
godṛí, beggar's garment **kuṛtí**, jacket.

In final position, resonance is determined by the following word, whether the latter is stressed or unstressed, whether it begins with a vowel or a consonant and so on. Further, the conditions, noted

4.

above, usually apply in connected speech. Examples—

moṛ, turn **moṛ áṇ**, get him back
tú~'moṛ de, you *turn* it back
'tú~ moṛ de, *you* turn it back.

tráṛ, slab **'tráṛ us á~dí**, *slab* did he bring.
'us tráṛ á~dí, *he* brought the slab
tráṛ us 'á~dí, he *brought* the slab.

pəceṛ, trouble **pəceṛ nə~-kʌr**, do not take trouble
pəceṛ í kʌre, trouble even he may do.

əsíʟ, well-bred **o^ 'əsíʟ ghoṛá**, that is a docile horse
əsíʟ 'o^ ghoṛá, that horse is docile
'o^ əsíʟ e, that is docile.

mʌʟkáʟ, Maliks **mʌʟkáʟ áen**, Malik has come
'vekh mʌʟkáʟ áen, See, Maliks have come
mʌʟkáʟ 'áen ki nʌ^Í~, Maliks have come or not.

Etc., etc.

V. 4. Phonetic Treatment of Fricatives

Friction as well as resonance of **[sh]** and **[s]** is stronger than that of **[f]**. But reverse is their position with regard to the volume of breath emitted. **[x]** and **[G]** have weaker friction and resonance than **[f]**. Weaker still is **[z]** and lowest in the order stands **[h]** which has a very delicate fricative resonance.

Friction and resonance increase or decrease together.

Friction is more audible in the beginning than at the end. Compare—

shāí, thing **āish**, luxury
sʌd, call **dʌs**, tell
fəkír, mendicant **kʌluf**, dye
zor, strength **roz**, daily
Gāíb, out of sight **báG**, embroidered cloth, garden.

Friction increases in medial position. Compare with the above—

kəshálá, effort, **rásá~**, reins, **váfur**, extra, **roze**, fasts, **ləGám**, bridle. Also compare—

həveʟí, mansion, and **vəháʟí**, a village.

Medially, it is greater still in double or long consonants.

V

Examples—

lʌssi, sour milk	**dʌG:á**, deceit
xush:í, pleasure	**hʌk'shuffá**, alienation
nʌfá, profit	**'rizzuk**, wealth.

In a consonant group or in connected speech, friction is more pronounced before breathed consonants than before voiced ones. Compare—

dostí, friendship	and	**dʌs-de**, tell
káshká˜, spoons		**bʌshgí**, vulgar term for Bakhshi
deGcí, kettle		**káGzí**, of paper
sʌxtí, hardship		**váxbí**, familiarity
dozkí, hellish		**mʌ^zbí**, religious.

Friction before long vowels is appreciably greater than before short vowels. Compare—

shukur, thanks	and	**shúkná**, onom. sound
fəlúdá, a rice preparation		**fáltú**, extra
bʌlGuṇ, phlegm		**ləGám**, bridle
məxʌmmʌd, a name		**nəxálus**, pure
shor, sound		**shəm^r** (Reshí), city
sir, head		**síṭí**, whistle.

Before back vowels, friction as well as resonance is less than that before front vowels. Compare—

shəx, Sheikh, convert	and	**shox**, fast (colour)
zid, perverseness		**zʌn**, doubt
xaīr, alms		**xún**, murder
sáfí, rag		**sʌrfá**, economy
bəGícá, orchard		**suGát**, gift.

Before a tone or in a stressed syllable, friction is sufficiently marked.

'bʌs te kʌr, finish it, but **bəs 'vʌ˜Jo**, that's all, go.
le^f, quilt, **fel**, fail, **shəfed**, white, **fəsád**, riot.
murGá^í, a water fowl, **Gu'lám**, slave, **su'Gát**, gift.
shirár, evil spirit, **bəshín**, machine, **bádshá^**, king, **pu'sháb**, urine;

and

shaī, thing, **shaī^**, encouragement, **shaītnə˜**, perhaps.

VI

VOICE AND BREATH

VI

VOICE AND BREATH

1. (a) Voice.
   (b) Voice in Sandhi.
2. Breath.

Voice and Breath in Awankari consonants

The following are breathed consonants in Awankari—

[p], [ṭ], [c], [t], [k], [ph], [ṭh], [ch], [th], [kh], [s], [sh], [x], [f].

Voiced consonants are the following—

[b], [ḍ], [J], [d], [g], [bh], [ḍh], [Jh], [dh], [gh], [j], [h], [l], [r], [ṛ], [v], [G], [z], [m], [n], [ń], [n˜], [ṇ].

[ń] and **[n˜]** are not important at all and they will not be included in the discussion below.

The consonants act in different ways under different conditions as regards their breath or voice. Breathed consonants may acquire voice, complete or incomplete, and voiced consonants may become partly or fully devoiced under special influences.

The degree of voice or breath of these consonants also varies under particular conditions.

We shall discuss the question of voice and breath separately.

VI. 1(a). Voice

1. Unaspirated voiced plosives have a greater voice than their aspirated equivalents. Compare—

bárí, window	and	**bhárí**, heavy
ḍol, bucket		**ḍhol**, drum
Jʌṭ, a Jat		**Jhʌṭ**, at once
dukh, misery		**dhukh**, smoke, smoulder
gol, round		**ghol**, dissolve.

2. The voice in plosives is greater than in other voiced consonants.

bodí, top of hair	**morí**, hole
dhágá, yarn	**jálá**, by God
ḍú^ghí, deep (fem.)	**múzí**, wretched
gʌJ, roar	**nʌṛ**, reed.

3. It appears that voice before close vowels is greater than before open vowels. Compare—

búrá, saw dust	and	**bárí**, window
lírá˜, rags		**lárá**, excuse
miṇ, measure (v.)		**meṇ**, measure (n.)
ghuṭ, choke		**ghʌṭ**, less
Jhúre, may fret		**Jhore**, worries
vír, brother		**vā̄r**, enmity
hír, a name		**hár**, defeat, garland.

4. Initial consonant is more voiced than the intervocalic one. Compare—

[n] in **niká^**, marriage, and **ghiná**, make to take
[bh] and **[J]** in **bheJá**, marrow, and **Jebhá**, pocket
[dh] and **[r]** in **dhárá˜**, flows, and **rádho**, a name
[j] in **jád**, memory, and **hojá**, shame
[g] and **[m]** in **gomá˜**, a name, and **má˜go**, cat
[h] in **hár**, garland, and **muhár**, rent
[r] in **rásá˜**, reins, and **sárá**, all
[l] and **[J]** in **láJo**, a name, and **Juálí**, a name
[v] in **vásəṇ**, a caste, and **sávuṇ**, a month.

5. A final consonant further loses its voice. Compare with the above—

pin, beg	**vár**, day
cobh, pierce	**dál**, pulse

ráJ, kingdom		**sirádh**, a ceremony
dhivár, day		**virág**, separation
lám, war		**mál**, cattle
	also	
ḍeḍh, 1 1/2	and	**cəheḍ**, nick-name
bʌr, width	and	**rʌb**, God
morí, hole	and	**mor**, peacock
má˜mí, uncle's wife	and	**iná˜m**, prize.

6. It becomes greater in stressed syllables in connected speech. Compare—

báb, behaviour — **rəbáb**, an instrument
'suṇá, heard — **su'ṇá**, tell
rʌb cʌ˜gá kəresí, God will do well
and **tāi˜ḍhá koí 'rʌb e**, Have you a God ?
má˜me ní˜ 'dhí, Uncle's daughter
and **dhí 'má˜me ní˜**, daughter of the uncle.

7. The voice of a consonant is more prominent before a high-toned vowel. Compare—

bo^ṛ, a tree	and	**borí**, sack
rá^vuṇ, to stay		**rávuṇ**, Ravana
mo^ṛá, village		**moṛ**, turning
zāū^r, poison		**zor**, power
já^rá˜, eleven		**járá**, O friend.

5. On the other hand, the voice of a consonant is slightly decreased in a pre-accental syllable, as in

bə'ṇá, make	but	**bʌṇ**, be made
hi'ṛá, erect (tr.)		**hiṛ**, erect (intr.)
ni'sár, trough to conduct water from a well		**nisrí**, sugar
lə'ṛʌm, dispute		**lʌṛí**, series
Jhə'lʌt, madness		**Jhʌllá**, mad
gu'ná^, sin		**guṇiá˜**, carpenter's square.

9. Voiced consonants decrease their voice in longer words. Compare—

[m] in **már**, beat,	and	**márá**, beaten
[g] in **goṭ**, tablet,	and	**goṭá**, gold or silver lace
[Jh] in **Jho**, begin,	and	**Jholí**, lap
[v] in **vá**, air,	and	**bává**, a mendicant
[z] in **zor**, strength,	and	**zorávar**, strong

[l] in **lo**, light **loṭí**, robbery

etc., etc.

In trisyllabic words, it becomes a question of stress or position.

VI. 1(b). Voice in Sandhi

10. A voiced consonant is devoiced before a breathed consonant. Examples—

bádshá^, king **kʌmkos**, one who shirks work
sirsám, pnemonia **Jʌgtú**, a name
á^mud khán, a name **ilṭí**, vicious.

11. After breathed consonants, too, the voiced sounds are partially devoiced.

vʌtní, country-made **ʌtro~**, day after tomorrow
ukhlí, mortar **sʌpṇí~**, snake (fem.)
sʌtbhái, a name **mʌtbul**, object
rʌc gʌí, became wretched **vʌṭ bʌ^ú~ pāūnes**, he gets many twists
bʌs Jul, that's all, go.

12. The first sound in a double consonant or in a cluster of aspirate and unaspirate consonants is so much immerged into the other that it loses much of its voice.

lʌggí, attached (fem.) **sʌJJá**, right, fresh
muddá, duration **nʌḍḍhá**, boy
middhá, crushed.

13. In fact, it appears that the first member of any consonant group may lose its voice partially or fully.* Add the following examples to the above—

guṛguṛí, smoking pipe **bʌkrí**, goat
ʌrmáṇ, condolence **itṇá~**, so much
bhʌJvál, partner.

14. Before a voiced sound, the breathed consonant, especially in Sandhi, is vocalized, more so before a voiced consonant of the same organic class. Compare this phenomenon with Nos. 10 and 11 above. Examples—

sʌpgo, a lizard **bʌs Jhʌṭ**, so soon

**Cf. No. 5 above. A following vowel does help the voice of a consonant; a consonant retards it.*

hʌth de, give hand **guthlá**, pocket
vʌt de, give again **nʌp bāū^**, catch and sit
mʌc Jul, shine and go **hʌth dho**, wash hands
vik gʌí, was sold.

VI. 2. Breath

It seems to me that the term "breathed consonants" has only a negative meaning, i.e., having no voice; for otherwise the amount of breath in voiced consonants, especially in aspirated consonants, is quite appreciable.

From amongst purely voiced consonants, breath is most copious in [bh]. [dh], [ḍh], [Jh] and [gh] come next in descending order. Breath is gradually reduced as we proceed with [h], [ɢ], [z], [m], [n], [j] to [b], [v], [d], [ḍ], [J] [g], [r], [ṛ], [l], [n~] and [ṅ].

The breath in devoiced or vocalized sounds is particularly noticeable. Compare examples in the above Section.

Of the breathed consonants, the fricatives contain richer breath than even the aspirated plosives. Breath in plosives is considerably interrupted during the 'stop'. Compare—

nʌp, catch and **nʌs**, run
āi~cí, inch **āi~shá~**, luxuries
tár, wire **xár**, jealousy
li'ṭá, lay **səfá**, clear
sʌṛká~, roads **sʌrfá**, economy.

The unaspirated plosives have less breath than their aspirated correspondents. Compare—

kol, with and **kho^l**, open
mocí, cobbler **mochá**, cut
ṭāīr, pony and **ṭhāī^r**, stay
metre, chequered **methre**, a seed
pʌd, wind **phʌd**, gums only.

The breathed consonants in Awankari may be arranged together in the following ascending order to show the degrees of breath.

[k], [c], [t], [ṭ], [p], [kh], [ch], [th], [ṭh], [ph], [f], [s], [sh] and [x].

Before close vowels breath is more copious than before open

vowels. Breath is highly concentrated when the air-passage is narrow. It is then forceful, too. It becomes weaker as the air-passage is widened. Compare—

sukkí, dry (fem.)	and	**sukká**, dry
púr, fits		**pár**, across
shírí, sweetness		**shāi^rí**, citizen
til, sesame seed		**tel**, oil
súl, pain		**sāil**, walk

etc., etc.

Similarly, the emission of breath before front vowels is richer. Compare—

píṛ, pain	and	**páṛ**, opening
thevá, jewel		**thobá**, patch
xāir, welfare		**xʌt**, card
fiṭ, fit		**fʌṭ**, at once
khe^, dust		**khú^**, well
shikár, game		**shukur**, thanks.

Initial breath is more copious than intervocalic and still more than final when it is delicately felt at the time of release of articulating organs. Compare—

cʌb, chew	**bʌcá**, saved	**bʌc**, guard
korá, blank	**boká**, bucket	**bok**, cry
sítá˜, a name	**tesá**, adze	**mes**, pretence
shāit, perhaps	**táshá˜**, cards	**tásh**, card
tílá, straw	**lútí**, back-biting	**pəlít**, impure

etc., etc.

As in voiced consonants, tone and stress greatly help the force and volume of breath. Compare—

sāukhá, easy	**sukhʌllá**, easy	**dhokhá**, deceit
sárá, all	**visár**, forget	**visá^**, trust
báshá, a bird	**kəshálá**, effort	**shá^dín**, a name
tái˜, to	**vətʌú˜**, brinjal	**tá^iá˜**, that's why
xár, jealousy	**buxár**, fever	**tənxá^**, pay.

In consonant groups breath is lost in the first members. A following vowel helps the emission of breath properly.

cápṛí, layer crust	**cʌklí**, wheel
vʌṭṇá, unguent	**sikhṛá**, Sikh
mʌstí, intoxication	**bʌshkí**, Bakhshi
potrí, grand-daughter	**cícká**, a small piece.

VII

QUANTITY OF CONSONANTS

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Quantity of Consonants

The question of length of consonants is rather complex. Some phoneticians do not like the terms 'short' and 'long' and prefer to distinguish the two quantities of 'single' and 'double' consonants. It appears that psychologically the latter conception is correct. But from organic point of view an Awankari consonant is either short or long. In the articulation of a double consonant, there is an effect of repetition as in Hindi-Urdu mán'ná. In order to have phonetic doubling of a consonant, it is necessary that the syllabic division be distinctly felt. It consists of two parts: the first part is characterised by a decrease in breath or in sonority or in muscular tension of the larynx; the latter part shows an increase in one of these factors. But Awankari consonants do not behave like that, especially in connected speech, except when prominently stressed. It is usually the prolonged contact of articulating organs that is felt. For example, in **bʌccá,** child, **kʌttá,** spun, **miṭṭi,** earth, dust, or **sukká,** dry, it is the stop-element which is lengthened. There is neither double plosion nor double touch or stop.

It should not be understood from the above that there are no double consonants in Awankari. What I mean to say is that long and double consonants should be distinguished. There is a good deal of difference between a long consonant and a double consonant,

In doubles, the first member is a little longer than the following one. While in long consonants, just the reverse is the case.

Compare examples given in the following pages.

When in connected speech the final consonant of a word and the initial consonant of the following word are the same, then of course, a double consonant is very clear, as in

bhʌn nʌ^ĩ̃, do not break — **lʌg gʌí**, was attached
hor ro, weep more — **bʌs sʌt**, all seven
hik koṭhá, a house — etc.

In a monosyllabic word, lengthening of consonants takes place before a vowel of the following word in speech. There is no doubling then. Compare—

hʌṭ oe, get away, and **hʌṭ pʌre**, get away
hik á geá, one came up, and **hik ná̃**, one name
kʌs í, have you fever (sing.), and **kʌs ne̊̃**, have you fever (pl.).

Lengthening occurs only after a short vowel also in normally stressed polysyllabic words. Examples—

sʌt.í, seven of cards — **phis.í**, a snake
suc.á, pure — **mukká**, blow
bil.í, cat — **ḍhibbá**, a mound
etc.

The same words when stressed make the intervocalic consonant double. Compare—

(1) **pán ní sʌt.í sʌṭ de**,—throw out the seven of hearts.
ure sʌttí sʌṭ de,—This side throw the seven.
(2) **bil.í vekhí-á ki nʌ^ĩ̃**,—Have you seen a cat or not ?
tudh billí vekhí-e,—Have you seen a cat ?
(3) **suc.á rupʌijá ghin**,—Take genuine rupee.
kʌpṛá succá,—(this) cloth is silken.

Long or double consonant does not accur in the beginning of a word or a stressed syllable. Compare—

vəṭá, change — **vʌṭṭá**, stone
nim, neem — **nimmú̃**, lemon.

As regards the comparative length of long or double consonants, plosives proper are longer than other consonants. Compare—

pʌk.á, pucca, hard — **pʌl.á**, scarf
sut.á, asleep — **khussá**, torn
piddá, short — **zim.á̃**, responsibility.

The voiced plosives are generally shorter than the breathed

ones. In a long or double voiced plosive there is also considerable voice to be heard. Compare—

thʌb.á, bundle — **ṭhʌp.á**, mould
muddá, duration — **muttá**, sent
kucʌJJá, inefficient — **bhəṛmʌccá**, bonfire
gʌḍ.í, train — **pʌṭ.í**, woollen cloth
etc.

[s.] is longer than any other lengthened fricative. Next comes **[f.]** and then **[sh.]**. Compare—

bus.á, unornamented — **mʌx.á̃**, I say
lʌG.ur, twig — **mish.ur**, Brahman
suf.á, verandah.

[m.] and **[n.]** have more quantity than other nasals.

pin.í, shin — **sin.í**, wet
kʌm.í̃, menial.

In **[l.]** quantity is greater than in **[ʟ.]**, **[ɽ.]** or **[r.]**.

du^l.á, a name — **kuɽ.í**, girl
bʌr.á, a bird — **gul.á**, a name.

In fact, lengthening of **[ʟ]**, **[ɽ]** *and* **[ɳ]** *is least tangible.*

The more does a consonant have a tendency for length, the clearer is the doubling of such a consonant.

Double plosives are more common than other consonants. Next come **[s]**, **[m]**, **[n]**, and then **[sh]**. **[l]** also becomes a clear double.

For examples see the texts at the end.

Long or double **[n̊̃]**, **[ń]**, and **[h]** do not exist at all.

Doubled effect in **[shsh]**, **[zz]**, **[xx]**, **[ɳɳ]**, **[ff]**, **[GG]** **[ɽɽ]** and **[ʟʟ]** is very delicate. In double **[r]** only the trills are greater in number.

It may be noted in the above :

(1) that in plosives and nasals the stop is considerably prolonged.

(2) that in the case of fricative consonants friction is remarkably lengthened. It is sharp, too.

(3) that in long or double **[m]** and **[n]**, the voice is comparatively increased.

(4) that long **[r]** gets three trills ; double **[r]**, four. In long or double **[l]** the tension of the tongue grows stronger. Laterality is also more marked.

The following pairs may be compared—

gácní, a clay — **gicci**, neck
khotá, ass — **kuttá**, dog

VII

somá˜, a name	**summá˜**, ramrod
búJo, monkey	**buJJá**, shame
mā̀idá, a flour	**mʌddú**, a name
ghísí, cleaning	**ghʌssá**, rush
báshí, a name	**mish.ur**, Brahman
cúní˜, a name	**dunní**, a name
kárí, of use	**kʌr.e**, may do
gá^lí, abuse	**gillá**, complaint
sáfí, a rag	**nʌf.á**, profit

etc., etc.

Awankari single consonants may be thus arranged in order of increasing length in each class—

Nasals **[ń] [n˜], [ɳ], [n]** and **[m]**.

Laterals **[ʟ], [l]**

Semivowels **[j], [v]**.

Rolled **[r]**.

Flapped **[ɽ]**.

Fricatives **[h], [x], [ɢ], [s], [z], [sh]**.

Unaspirated plosives **[k], [g], [c], [J], [ṭ], [ḍ], [t], [d], [p], [b]**.

Aspirated plosives **[kh], [gh], [ch], [Jh], [ṭh], [ḍh], [th], [dh], [ph], [bh]**.

It is for further investigation to ascertain what happens to the quantity of consonants before and after various vowels, in stressed and unstressed syllables and so on. Satisfactory results can only be achieved with the help of scientific apparatus, because the quantity of consonants is a very delicate problem, indeed.

VIII

BEHAVIOUR OF THE ORGANS OF SPEECH

VIII

BEHAVIOUR OF THE ORGANS OF SPEECH

1. Tongue.
2. Lips.
3. Larynx.
4. Jaws.
5. Nose.
6. Other.

VIII. 1. Tongue

Of all the speech organs the tongue is the most important. It is highly active and mobile.

In the articulation of vowels, its movements are less tangible than for most of the consonants. If we modify the shape of the mouth cavity by gradually raising the tongue towards the front of the hard palate, we make this series of vowels :

[a̱], [e], [i] and [í].

By gradually raising it towards the back of the mouth, we get [ä], [ɑ], [o], [u] and [ú]. Similarly towards the centre [ʌ] and [ə] are produced.

In other words, the front of the tongue is raised high for [a̱], higher for [e], higher still for [i], and highest for [í] ; the back part

of it is raised high for [á], higher for [ãu], much higher for [o], still higher for [u], and highest for [ú]; and the centre of the tongue rises in pronouncing [ʌ] and still more for [ə].

The greatest tension of the tongue occurs in articulating [í] and lowest in [ə].

The tongue remains retracted and motionless in the articulation of labial and labio-dental consonants, namely, [p], [ph], [b], [bh], [m], [f] and [v]. In the articulation of [h], it is comparatively lax, lying low.

The movements of various parts of the tongue may be observed in the articulation of other consonants. Thus the tip moves higher and higher as it goes on articulating [v], [j], [s], [z], [t], [c], [l], [ṭ], [ṛ] and [ḍ]. Similarly the movement of the back of the tongue is noticeable as we gradually articulate [k], [x], [ɢ] and [g].

The touch may be light as in the case of dental, alveolar and guttural sounds, or tense as in the case of retroflex and aspirated consonants. In order of the tension of the tongue the consonants stand as follows—

(a) Retroflex
(b) Palato-alveolars
(c) Velars
(d) Dentals.

Among the above consonants, the aspirated consonants are accompanied with greater tension of the tongue than the non-aspirated ones.

Further, the touch may be close as in the case of plosives, excepting labials, or it may be nominal and may result in friction by the air, as in fricatives.

Again the greatest activity of the tongue lies in its point, and it is most remarkable in the articulation of [r] or [rr] when it makes repeated trills, and in [ṛ] and [ɽ] when it flaps against the lower jaw. The blade is appreciably active in pronouncing the cerebrals.

Another movement of the tongue is its laterality, which is evident in [l] and still better in [ʟ].

The direction of the tongue in all the sounds is towards the palate, except in the articulation of [r], [h] and the bi-labials. In the case of [r], it goes towards the lower teeth-ridge after going up towards the palate, while in the case of [h] it very gently vacillates,

VIII. 2. Lips

Lips play a considerable part in the formation of sounds. They remain neutral in the articulation of [ãi], [á], [ʌ], [ə] and all consonants excepting the bilabial [p], [ph], [b], [bh], [m] and the labio-dental [f] and [v]. Their openness in the state of neutrality is a function of the lower jaw.

The lips, in the articulation of [ãu] and [o], are slightly rounded. The rounding and tension of lips is greater for [u], and still greater for [ú]. They are protruded in proportion to their roundness. The contact of the lips is also closer in the case of [ú] than of [o].

In the pronunciation of [e] they are very slightly spread, but for [i] and still more for [í], spreading is distinctly visible.

In pronouncing bilabial and labio-dental sounds, the third activity of the lips, namely their coming into close contact with each other, is also to be observed. In the case of [f] and [v], contact does not take place very appreciably. The contact is closer for plosives than for the nasal [m]; and of the plosives again tension is stronger for aspirated and long consonants.

Contact and tension are also well-marked when a plosive occurs as an initial sound of a stressed syllable. Compare—

pár, across, and **vəpár,** trade
már, beating, and **má^r,** friend
ber, jujube, and **nəbeṛ,** fulfil.

The labial sounds, according to the function of lips, may be classified as below—

Contacted : [p], [ph], [b], [bh], [m];
Neutral : [ãi], [á], [ʌ], [ə];
Contracted : [u], [ú];
Spread : [e], [i], [í];
Protruded : [ãu], [o], [u], [ú].

VIII. 3. Larynx

The larynx behaves in two ways. It may first rise in the primary articulation of a sound and then fall abruptly or gradually, or, it may first go down and then rise to its normal position abruptly

or slowly. Secondly it may remain neutral or may be protruded to allow a big sound to escape.

The present writer is constrained to believe that the behaviour of the larynx varies with each different sound in Awankari. But some broad features in certain sounds do facilitate classification.

Generally speaking, the larynx remains neutral or rises very lightly in the articulation of front vowels and voiceless consonants. But it is considerably raised at the point of primary articulation of high-toned vowels and aspirated consonants. The fall to the normal position is sudden in the case of high-toned vowels and gradual in aspirated consonants.

For back vowels [á] and [ʌ], [u] and [ú] and for voiced consonants, the larynx is considerably protruded downwards. The strong activity of the vocal chords, perhaps, brings this movement in the larynx. But when the vowels are high-toned, protrusion is upwards, and the fall to the normal position is gradual. The most downward fall of the larynx occurs in the case of [ú].

When vowels are accompanied by a low tone, the larynx goes down and then rises gradually.

The behaviour of the larynx in words of different sounds is a matter for further investigation. For example—in the articulation of [h] the larynx gently rises before the vowel [ú], very gently descends before [á], and very gently rises towards the right before [í], as in **húsh,** vulgar, **hál,** account, **hír,** a name.

VIII. 4. Jaws

The upper jaw is fixed; the lower jaw can move only up and down. With regard to consonants, the jaw moves downward and the mouth opens as we go on pronouncing

[p], [t], [c], [ṭ] and [k] — aperture 1
[b], [d], [J], [ḍ] and [g] — aperture 2
[ph], [th], [ch], [ṭh], [kh] — aperture 3
[bh], [dh], [Jh], [ḍh] and [gh] — aperture 4
[m], [n], [n̄], [ṇ] and [ń] — aperture 5
[f], [v], [s], [z], [sh] — aperture 8
[x], [G] and [h] — aperture 9
[l], [ʟ], [r], [ɾ] — aperture 11,

It goes lower in the articulation of aspirated consonants than for their un-aspirated correspondents.

In the articulation of consonants, the jaw first rises up at the time of primary articulation and then falls down, while in articulating vowels the movement is only downwards.

As regards vowels, the general principle may be stated thus: the opener the vowels, the more downward the jaw.

The vowels need wider aperture than consonants. But three categories of Awankari consonants detailed above (apertures 8, 9 and 11) certainly come after the close and half-close vowels. Instrumental aids may help in giving precise positions. Although aperture is measured between the lips, it is a function of the lower jaw. The gradation presented here is based on personal observations.

There are several degrees of aperture in the articulation of vowels. In fact every vowel determines its own aperture. In this connection, the vowels may be arranged as follows in the order of gradation :

[ú], [í], [u], [i], [ə], [o], [e], [ʌ], [a͡u], [a͡i] and [á].

The following gradation is approximate—

Aperture 6 : [ú]
Aperture 7 : [í], [u]
Aperture 10 : [i], [ə]
Aperture 12 : [o], [e]
Aperture 13 : [ʌ]
Aperture 14 : [a͡u], [a͡i]
Aperture 15 : [á].

The movement of the jaw in stress and tone is quick as well as active. It comes down still lower, and the aperture is wider.

VIII. 5. Nose

The nose is not a movable organ of speech. No part of the nasal cavity is subject to muscular movement, but the mucous covering of its walls is capable of very great expansion by the inflow of blood, and that determines the volume of nasality. The nasal cavity is entirely closed by the soft palate in the articulation of all nasal sounds, and it is completely open for all nasal sounds in

Awankari. All nasal sounds are purely nasal.

Three movements, however, are discernible, namely,

(1) raising of sides,

(2) opening of sides, and

(3) contraction of the nose, as in [n̆] and [ṅ].

The sides of the nose show greater movement in the case of nasal consonants than in the case of nasal vowels.

The opening of the nasal cavities is also greater in the case of nasal consonants than in the case of nasal vowels.

Note—The behaviour of organs of speech in a rapid succession of sounds in words and in connected speech is a vast subject by itself. Some hints have been given in the chapters on articulation of various vowels and consonants. Fuller results can only be achieved with the help of scientific instruments.

VIII. 6. Other

The relative tension of the vocal chords in the articulation of Awankari sounds and the resultant closure of the glottis and vibration can be determined from the variations of voice and breath as detailed in Chapter VI.

A number of teethless persons have been tried and found articulating dental consonants quite distinctly. The tongue touching the gum-sockets of the teeth effects pure 'dentals'. The dentoalveolar [s] and [z], however, are slightly indistinct, and more so are the labiodental [f] and [v].

IX

CONSONANT CLUSTERS

IX

CONSONANT CLUSTERS

1. Initial Clusters.
2. Medial Clusters.
3. Double Consonants.

The conjunct consonants in Awankari are not quite clear: grouping is hardly close. In the initial position an ideal cluster is formed with [r] as the second member, and that, too, in rapid speech; otherwise, a shade of the svarabhakti is heard between the two elements. Medially there is some pause between the first and the second consonant, and the syllabic division of the group is so clear that it may be safely called a pseudo-group. Consonant-clusters do not occur at the end of words as they do in many other Indian dialects including eastern Punjabi. Clusters with [r] as the second members do end a word in the Multani dialect of Lahndi.

IX. 1. Initial Clusters

A plosive, nasal or fricative does not at all form a second member of an initial consonant cluster in Awankari. [ṇ], [r], [l] and [ṛ] do not occur as first members, [h], [v] and [j] do not

cluster with any consonants in the initial position of a word.

Grouping of a consonant with [r] is almost perfect, more so of a plosive and [r], as in—

tráṛ, rock	**drokhá,** lamp-stand
mrukṇe, well-fried	**croká,** for a long time
srúṭ, reeds	**krelá,** a bitter vegetable
frebí, cheat	**ḍrákul,** timid.

The svarabhakti between a consonant-and-[l] cluster is slightly felt. Hence it is not a genuine conjunct. Thus

glole, earthen balls, = **gələle**
khlo, stay, = **khələ**
fláṇá, so-and-so, = **fəláṇá**
glo, a bitter creeper, = **gilo.**

It is interesting to note that the word 'block' for a sector is pronounced **bulák.**

[ṛ], as a second member, is found grouped with a non-retroflex consonant, excepting the loan-sounds [x], [f], [G], [z], particularly in connected speech of some rapid speakers. In general, however, the svarabhakti is clearly heard. Examples—

thṛobá (thəṛobá), a lump
ghṛolí (ghəṛolí), a pitcher
bṛobe (bəṛobe), dots
lṛʌm (ləṛʌm), hindrance
sṛá˜d (səṛá˜d), burning smell.

[ṇ] also behaves like [ṛ] in a consonant group; e.g. **bhṇiá,** brother-in-law, = **bhəṇiá.**

Initial clusters, therefore, in Awankari are insignificant.

IX. 2. Medial Clusters

Medial clusters are of three kinds, viz. basic, grammatical and syntactical.

(1) Basic clusters occur in the so-called 'dictionary words', as

ásrá, refuge	**ɯtrá,** childless
márkhí, typhoid	**trʌkṛá,** strong
pistá, pup	**sufná,** dream
shʌmlá, end of turban	**bucká,** bundle.

(2) Grammatical clusters are formed by declensional, conjugational or terminational forms and suffixes, as

mʌrsí, will die, < **mʌruṇ,** to die
mərsʌú˜, I shall beat you, < **máruṇ,** to beat
isnə˜, his, (gen. **nə˜** postposition)
vekhná, sees, < **vekhuṇ,** to see
Játká˜, to children, < **Játuk,** child
árká˜, elbows, < **áruk,** or **árək,** elbow.

(3) Syntactical clusters are formed in connected speech by the contact of the final consonant of a word followed by the initial consonant of another word. In a sentence it is fluency that brings about the clusters. Examples—

Juṛgʌí, has joined, **bhʌJvʌ˜J,** go away (running)
nʌpki áṇ, bring catching
lʌd kʌṇí sʌṭ ditti, having loaded, put it away
hʌs ro ki vʌxut ləghá ghisá˜, laughing-weeping, we shall pass time.

In speech, any consonant that can end a word can group with any other consonant that can begin an Awankari word.

It is hard to call medial groups as real conjuncts. In fact two consonants of separate syllables have come into contact which is not very close. For example, **dʌbsí,** will apply, is equal to **dʌb+sí,** rather than **dʌ+bsí.** Similarly **mʌrse˜,** you will die, = **mʌr+se˜,** and **kʌrná˜,** doing, = **kʌr+ná˜.** There is a clear pause between the two elements. The test of a real consonant group is Sandhi, which is slightly distinct only in dictionary words.

[h] and **[j]** do not group with any consonant.

Grouping together of two fricatives is rare. It may occur syntactically, as in

bʌs fāi˜slá thí giá, Is that all, the settlement is made?
ṭhʌḍhí jʌx firní khāise˜, you will eat very cold pudding.
ʌshráf GʌlṭÍ kərená, a gentleman makes a mistake.
Etc.

The group [ṛ+ṇ] or [ṇ+ṛ] does not exist at all.

Th e group [ṇ+r] exists in speech only, but here, again, there is a clear pause between the two elements.

puṇ rí^á, has sieved
kʌṇək hik mʌṇ rá^í-e, I have sown a maund of wheat
suṇ rádho, māi˜ḍhí gʌl, Listen, O Radho, my story.

IX

[ń] occurs before a plosive of its own class and so does [n̆]

Examples—

vʌńgá̆, bangles	**mʌn̆Jí**, bedstead
siṅghí, horn	**hʌn̆Jhú**, tears
saṅkhíá, arsenic	**bin̆c**, bench.

Consonant groups with [x], [sh], [f], [z] and]G] are very few as these sounds occur only in a number of foreign loan-words.

Examples—

mʌGzí, fringe	**sʌxtí**, hardship
barfí, a sweetmeat	**xʌnzír**, swine
dʌrzí, tailor	**Gʌzlá̆**, poems
dʌsxʌt, signature	**jʌxní**, soup
nirázgi, displeasure	**sufná**, dream.

The following groups are comparatively clear :—

(i) plosive + plosive (of different articulation), as in

cícká, a small cake of soap	**bhugtāṇ**, to end
batká̆, ducks	**Jaṭbúṭ**, vulgar fellow
rʌtgʌ^ṛ, a red sore	**hʌbdáĭ**, everywhere
muṭh ghuṭ, hold fist	**huJtá̆**, frivolous arguments
má̆J-cə, just cleanse	etc.

Aspirate + aspirate is rare.

(ii) plosive + any other consonant*

ūtrá, childless	**ukṛú̆**, a posture
ugrá^í, collecting money	**itṇá**, so much
bʌdlí, cloud	**bhʌn̆ḍṇá**, to censure
bhʌgvá, ochre-coloured	**duthrú**, fit of choking
dhopná, be washed	**JiJmán**, customer.

(iii) [s] + any other consonant

ḍʌskorá, sobbing fit	**hʌsbí**, welcome
kásti, 11th of the lunar fortnight	**khāisnĕ**, will eat you, mind you
hʌslí, collar bone	**nʌsvár**, puff (n.)
kʌsrá̆, deficiencies	**másṛá**, mother's sister's husband
khʌsmáná̆, charge	**dʌskhá̆**, please tell.

(iv) [v] + any other consonant but plosive

dávṇí, an ornament	**Jevṛí**, rope

*Fricatives may not be considered here again.

sá^vre, in-laws	**pávlí**, weaver.

(v) [r] + any other consonant

bʌrchá, spear	**bhʌrJái**, brother's wife
gerṛá, dove	**cʌrkhá**, spinning wheel
ḍherná, instrument for twisting yarn	**cʌrsí**, addicted to opium smoking
hʌrmul, a black seed	**nárvá**, guinea-worm
tʌrle, entreaties	etc.

(vi) [ṛ] + any other consonant but [ṇ]

bhiṛná, quarrelling	**duṛkí**, trotting
cʌṛtəl, cavalcade	**ghʌṛvʌn̆Jí**, pitcher-stand
bhiṛ lʌg, go and fight	**kuṛmeṭá**, son of child's father-in-law
kʌṛchí, ladle	**bhiṛsí**, will fight.

(vii) [l] + any other consonant

bhʌlṭáná, going astray	**gʌldává̆**, rope for neck
kʌlvʌtrí, saw (n.)	**khʌlvʌn̆g**, bellows
bʌlsi, will burn	**Jhálrá̆**, fringes
kholṛá, hard	**təlghes**, laziness.

(viii) Nasal + any other consonant, even another nasal, excepting [ṇ + ṛ]—

dumbá, ram	**dundá**, having two teeth
gʌn̆Já, bald	**muṇḍá**, lame
miṇká, bead	**vʌngí**, kind (n.)
kʌmkos, shirker	**mʌmdʌstá**, mortar
Jhʌmṇí, whip	**khimná**, is flashing
mámlá, affair.	

(ix) A nasal + voiced plosive + any other consonant is the only sort of group containing three consonantal sounds.

mundrí, ring	**mʌńgsí**, will demand
gəlvʌńgṛí, embrace	**ʌńglí**, finger.

Note.—*Groups with* **[r]** *as first or second member are most numerous in the language.*

Three-element clusters are formed in usual way by contact of final consonant of a word and the initial group of the following word, as in **kʌm kresí**, he will do work, or **sʌt trāi dá^**, seven and three make ten, etc. Similarly, they occur in word-compounding. In dictionary-words or in stems, such clusters are formed commonly

with nasal consonants and [r], and rarely with other consonants—**ʌantre,** oranges, **mʌshkrí,** joke.

IX. 3. Double Consonants

In fact the so-called double consonants are long consonants in Awankari, and they are so formed only intervocalically after short vowels. This means that long consonants are found only medially.

All consonants excepting [h], [y], [ɳ], [r], [ɽ], [ʟ], [x] and [ɢ] occur as such. Examples—

dhikká, push	**buccá,** beardless
mʌkhkhí, fly	**vʌchchá,** calf
luggá, desolate	**rʌJJá,** satiated
sʌghghá, throat	**bʌJhJhá,** bound
vʌńńá˜ (Reshí), bangles	**Jʌn˜n˜á˜** (Reshí), marriage parties
vʌṭṭá, stone	**suttá,** slept
pʌṭhṭhá, green fodder	**kiththe,** where
triḍḍí, hopper	**hidde,** hither
muḍhḍhá, skein	**sudhdhí,** a female name
	dhunní, navel
hʌppá, kiss	**billí,** cat
gʌphphá, handful	**sʌvvá,** 1 1/4
kubbá, hunchbacked	**rizzuk,** wealth
khubhbhá, stuck	**sʌssá˜,** mothers-in-law
zimmí, field	**rʌffú,** darning
	khushshí, happiness.

Doubling, not lengthening, occurs syntactically, when there is a slight pause between the elements. Compare—

hik ká˜, one crow	**lʌg gʌí,** is stuck
chʌt te, on the roof	**lʌp pá,** put handful
sikh khə˜, do learn	**ḍhil lá,** make delay
bʌs sɑ̃ɯ˜, now sleep	**ghin nə˜,** do take.

Of the consonants that do not occur as long, [r], [z] and [ɢ] are likely to be doubled syntactically. The others do not either end a word as [h] and [j] or begin a word as [ɳ], [ɽ] and [ʟ].

Also see Chapter VII.

X

FREQUENCY OF SOUNDS

X

FREQUENCY OF SOUNDS

1. Dictionary Words.
   (i) Vowels.
   (ii) Consonants.
   (iii) Semi-Vowels.
2. Speech Words.

The question of the frequency of sounds in Awankari may be treated in two divisions:

(1) In what may be called dictionary words, the consonants are much more than vowels.

(2) In speech, however, grammatical terminations bring in such a large number of vowels, that the number of consonants and vowels is almost equal.

X. 1. Dictionary Words

Only about 7 per cent Awankari words begin with vowels, five per cent with semi-vowels and 88 per cent with consonants.

Medially the number of vowels and consonants is equal. But finally, however, the vowels occur in majority. Seventy per cent

vowels and thirty per cent consonants end Awankari words. Semi-vowels do not occur in the final position.

X. 1. i. Vowels

In initial position, the short vowels are more common than long ones, especially in disyllabic words. [ə] in trisyllabic words and [ʌ] in monosyllabic and usually in disyllabic words are more common than any other vowels. [u] comes next. Long vowels in the beginning of words are rare — [í] is most uncommon, [e] and [ú] occur in less than a dozen words and so do [a͞u] and [a͞i]. [á] is the commonest of long vowels.

Medially, again, short vowels, including [ə] and [u] also, are quite common. [á] and [í] come next. [ú], [o] and [e] are less frequent. [a͞i] is the rarest of all vowels.

Finally, [á] and [í] alone are common. [ú], [o] and [e] occur in less than a hundred words in all. Short vowels do not end words except in the vocative case, as

puttura, O son **píú-ə**, O father.

Also in enclitics.

As regards the incidence of diphthongs and triphthongs, reference may be made to chapters II and III.

X. 1. ii. Consonants

Initially as well as medially, [k] is the most frequent plosive, then in the descending order stand [p], [s], [b], [m], [t], [g], and [c]. [ʈ] is least common.

Breathed consonants occur more frequently than their voiced correspondents, and the unaspirated consonants are much more common than their aspirated correspondents. This is true in all positions of dictionary-words in Awankari.

Finally, [r], [l], [ɳ] and [ɽ] are quite frequent. Of the plosives, [k] is most common and [p] and [n] are comparatively rare. [s] is the commonest of fricatives at the end of words. [sh] occurs less frequently. [f], [x], [z] exist still less and [G] is least common. [h] does not occur finally at all.

X. 1. iii. Semi-vowels

[j] and [v] exist in the proportion of 1 to 10, in the beginning of words. Medially, [j] is found only in a few words. [v] is very common. The semi-vowels never end words in Awankari.

X. 2. S peech words

In connected speech, grammatical forms greatly determine the frequency of sounds in the interior and at the end of words. Gender, case endings, verbal terminations all have mostly vowels at their end. At a rough estimate only about 10 per cent consonants as against 90 per cent vowels and diphthongs stand at the end of words. As adjectives, nouns and even verbs have genders in Awankari, [á] and [í] are the most common vowels.

[s] and [n] have high frequency in connected speech.

Frequency depends on the tense used in the talk. If it is past tense, diphthongs occur frequently. If it is present tense [n] and [á] or [í] come up in each sentence. Further, if it is future tense, [s] is frequent.

Similarly gender, person or number may make a vast difference in the frequency of final [á] and [í].

The subject of the talk is also an important factor. Because the words **píú** (father) and **puttur** (son) in the story of the Prodigal Son have to be repeated several times, [p] is very common in that story. Similarly the repetition of **vá, ʌ̃drʌkkhá, deˆõ**, etc. in the 'North Wind and the Sun', (see Appendix) does determine the frequency of sounds contained in these words.

Frequency is also helped by watchwords in a talk. Some speakers are fond of saying **ha͞ĩ̃ nə̃, ha͞inə̃** (isn't it), almost after every sentence. Some repeat **ti** (then, and) very frequently. Others speak **máriá** (O man), **hʌllá** (yes), **mʌkhá̃** (I say), etc., which punctuate their talk at regular intervals.

XI

THE SYLLABLE

XI

THE SYLLABLE

1. General.
2. Strong & Weak Syllables.
3. Syllabication.
   (i) Of Consonant & Vowel.
   (ii) Of Final Consonants.
   (iii) Of Consonant Groups.
   (iv) Of Double or long Consonants.
   (v) Other.
   (vi) In Connected Speech.
4. (i) Tones.
   (ii) Notes on High-Falling Tone.
   (iii) Effects.

XI. 1. General

A syllable in Awankari may consist of:

1. A simple vowel, e.g. í (this), ú (that), or á in álú, potato, árí, saw.

2. A diphthong, e.g. áí, came, ʌ^í, was (fem.), or iá in iápá, innocent.

3. A triphthong, e.g., áiá, came, āí^iá, was.

4. A tetraphthong, e.g., **áiāiá**, had come.

5. A simple vowel and a consonant, e.g. **ʌkh**, eye; **ín**, perverseness; or **ʌm**, in **ʌmṛí**, mother, **ʌmrí**, by chance, **ʌmur**, a name.

The consonant may be single or first member of a conjunct as in the words above; or it may be a double or first of a double consonant, as in **ʌḍḍ** (stressed), open, **ʌḍḍí**, heel.

6. A diphthong and a consonant, as in **áen**, have come.

The consonant is either single or first member of a conjunct, never a double or part of a double consonant.

Such syllables are rare in Awankari.

7. A consonant (single, or conjunct, second of a double, or second of a conjunct) + a vowel (simple, diphthongal or triphthongal); e.g.

Já, place, **pí**, drink, **trāū^**, dread, **krāí^**, you should do, **ḍráiá**, frightened; or **ká** in **nikká**, small, **vʌḍká**, old man.

8. A consonant + a vowel + a consonant.

bhár, load, **trāū̃k**, sprinkle, **səbhál**, collect, **gʌḍḍí**, train.

Such syllables are very common in Awankari.

9. A semi-vowel + a vowel:

vá, wind, **váú**, wind (obl.), **jāí^**, copulate; or **ve** in **vekho**, see, **velá**, time.

10. A vowel + the semi-vowel **[v]**, but not in monosyllabic words, as in **á̃vdí**, income, **ivzí**, in exchange.

Such a syllable is not common.

11. A semi-vowel + a vowel + a consonant:

jár, friend, **vel**, cleaning cotton, **viáJh**, get, **jʌ^mlá**, foolish, **vi^llá**, damp, **sívuṇ**, to sew.

12. A consonant + a vowel + the semi-vowel **[v]** (not in monosyllabic words), e.g. **kávṛí**, angry, **sívṇá̃**, sewing.

It may be noted that **[j]** does not end a syllable in Awankari.

Most of the syllables in Awankari are of the variety of a consonant (including semi-vowels) + a vowel.—Nos. 7 and 9 above.

XI. 2. Strong and Weak syllables

As regards the comparative strength and weakness of syllables in Awankari words, the following positions are notable.

(a) The weakest position is found before a stressed syllable, as—

[su] in **sukhʌllá**, easy, **sucʌJJí**, qualified;

[ə] in **əJoká**, today's, **əṭhá^rá̃**, eighteen.

(b) The strongest syllable occurs in a stressed position, as the medial syllable in the words above. Also compare—

2nd syllable in **vəṭá**, change, **khəlo**, stay; or,

1st syllable in **vi^llá**, damp, **údá**, violet.

(c) The post-stressed syllable is a little stronger than the pre-stressed one. Compare examples above.

XI. 3. Syllabication

A very large number of crude words in Awankari is monosyllabic and the question of syllabication does not arise therein. But in connected speech they tend to become polysyllabic by grammatical and syntactical extension. Disyllabic words are next in importance as regards their number. Trisyllabic words are not many, and words of four or more syllables are very rare.

Inspite of the fact that a word contains as many syllables as it has vowels or diphthongs, division of a word into distinct syllables is not an easy problem.

The consonants present particular difficulties.

XI. 3. i. Of Consonant and Vowel*

(1) An initial consonant must go with the following vowel, as in **bárí**, window, **cupítá**, silent, **kálá**, black, **so^ṇá**, handsome, **sāṇṛá**, narrow, **siáṇá**, wise.

(2) Intervocalic consonant, followed by a long vowel, (or a diphthong) will go with that vowel.

sivái, sewing charges, **cəlá**, drive, **səlám**, greetings, **khəváú**, able to let eat, **tulái**, cushion, **dhuvái**, charges for washing.

(3) Intervocalic consonant, preceded by a long vowel (or a diphthong) will go with the succeeding vowel.

ko^ṛá, leper, **Jákut**, child, **pāū^^ce**, may reach, **sútʌr**, control,

**Vowel also includes diphthong and triphthong.*

ʊukhá, difficult.

(4) Between two short vowels, syllabication becomes rather difficult. But a clear case occurs when there is stress. In that condition, the consonant will go with the succeeding stressed vowel. E.g., **pəthʌl**, a sitting position, **hikʌṭh**, collection, **ḍəbukkí**, diving, **musʌllí**, sweeper, etc.

(5) In unstressed isolated words, the intervocalic consonant between two short vowels presents some difficulty. For example, it is doubtful whether the consonant belongs to the preceding or to the succeeding syllable in the following—

nikul, go out, **sucum**, purity, **sʌṭuṇ**, vomiting, etc.

Strictly speaking, the stop-stage of the intervocalic consonant will be the end of the first syllable, while the plosion-stage of the consonant will be the beginning of the second syllable.

(6) Sometimes the final consonant of a word becomes intervocalic in combination with the initial vowel of the following word in fluent speech. In that case, again, the rules mentioned above will apply.

XI. 3. ii. Of final Consonants

(7) The final consonant will follow the preceding vowel, subject to the provision noted in (6) and (10).

E.g., **ushmán**, sky, **tərík**, date, **dhəbúk**, wasp, **ákhius**, he said.

XI. 3. iii. Of Consonant-groups

(8) Syllabic division of consonant groups is simple. The first member generally goes with the preceeding syllable and the second member with the succeeding syllable, as in

ʌthrú, tears, **ʌstur**, lining, **ghirní**, wheel, **luˆṛke**, ear-drops.

In those consonant-groups, however, which show some trace of Sandhi, the division will be arbitrary as in **dʌbsí**, where **[bs]** shows a cohesion of two sounds also,

XI. 3. iv. Of Double or Long Consonants

(9) The rules mentioned above hold good also in the case of double consonants, as in **horro**, weep more, **bhʌnnʌˆí˜**, do not break.

(10) A long consonant, occurring independently or in Sandhi (XII. 2. ii.) cannot be easily divided into two syllables. But as psychologically one is likely to take it as two consonants, it may be arbitrarily divided, as a conjunct consonant above.

XI. 3. v. Other

(11) The semi-vowel behaves like a consonant in syllabication.

E.g., **já˜rá˜**, eleven, **sʌv.á**, 1 1/4, **səváṇí**, wife, **khávuṇ**, to eat, **vijáˆ**, marriage.

(12) Svarabhakti behaves like a short medial vowel and belongs to the preceding consonant in a syllable.

E.g., **təriákul**, third party, = **tə-riá-kul**.

XI. 3. vi. In Connected speech

(13) Syllabication in connected speech is the most important point to be handled. In actual speech the words and their divisions are often quite different from what they are presumed to be. Thus in the following sentence **vʌt usáˆ˜ ákhius**, again he said to him, the ordinary syllables may be separated as **vʌt u sáˆ˜ á khius**. But the impressions we receive are **vʌt tu sáˆ˜ á khi us**.

The difference in syllabication arises only when the final consonant of a word is followed by an initial vowel of the following word.

XI. 4. i. Tones

A tone effects an important semantic difference in the language. Compare—

mál, property	**máˆl**, rope
vá, wind	**váˆ**, plough (v.)
ənárá, a name	**ənáˌrá**, darkness

vel, money given to menials **ve^l,** leisure
mor, peacock **mo^r,** priority
nátá, relationship **ná˯tá,** bathed.

The principal types of tones applicable to syllables in Awankari are the following :

(1) *The falling tone.* The larynx rises very slightly at the primary articulation of the tone and then falls down below its normal position. It is represented by the sign [^] in this thesis, as in

bá^r, outside **mo^ro˜,** first
ve^lá, vacant **ghá^,** grass.

This tone is most common in Awankari and more prominent in it than in any Lahndi dialect. It is a particular feature of Waṇáḍhí, less so of Pákhṛí, and least of Reshí.

(2) *The high tone.* The larynx rises quickly and falls slowly in the articulation of this tone. In fact it is a variety of the tone No. (1). The same syllables of Waṇáḍhí having falling tone are pronounced in Reshí with the high tone, represented in this thesis by [Γ]. Compare—

Waṇáḍhí	Reshí
ve^lá, vacant	**ve Γlá,**
ubá^lá, impatient	**ubá Γlá**
gá^l, abuse	**gá Γl.**

Also see the following 'notes'—(XI. 4. ii).

(3) *The low rising tone* represented in the thesis by the sign [˯] is very rare. The larynx goes down with a feeling of constraint and rises gradually to its normal position. A kind of [h] sound is heard before the vowel stage. The vocal chords vibrate. Examples—

mʌ˯mdá, O Mohammad **pi˯vá˜,** we may grind
nə˯sá^˜, we shall bathe **vərí˯ṇá,** death anniversary.

The low-rising tone in Awankari is not quite different from a similar tone in Punjabi. (Cf. Dr. Jain's Punjabi Phonology, pp. 167-168.) Only its operation is narrower in the dialect than in Punjabi in which it affects the voiced plosives as in **k˯oṛá,** horse, **p˯ábí,** sister-in-law, **k˯á,** grass, etc. These words are pronounced with a clear voiced aspiration and falling or high tone in Awankari. The striking feature of this tone is that it is a double-peaked tone as in Lithuanian 'dirzti', to be firm.

Anyhow, this tone is not quite regular in the dialect, found only in about a dozen words or so, and does not require further

discussion.

(4) *The mid-tone* or the level tone is the state of a syllable or a group of syllables having none of the tones above, as in

áí oí e, she has come.
koí áve tə˜ sʌí, some one may come, let us see.

This mid-tone has various gradations—**Jí,** yes, (in usual response to a call) has a level mid-tone; **Ji,** in **áo Jí,** come Sir, has a long mid-tone; and **Jí** in **haī˜ Jí,** what Sir, has a high mid-tone.

These gradations, however, vary with the prominence of pitch. More examples may be compared in the Section on 'Sentence Intonation'.

XI. 4. ii. Notes on High-falling tones

The falling tone in Waṇáḍhí and Pákhṛí and the high tone in Reshí and Pákhṛí are most important of the tones in Awankari.

Syllables uttered with high tone are always stressed, as in

maī˜ 'ná^˜ vaīní, I do not at all go.
'ví^ várí ákhiá, vʌ˜J, I have said twenty times, go.
maī˜ḍhí roṭí 'ru^ṛní pʌ^í e, my bread is being baked.

The stress on such syllables is stronger than on untoned stressed syllables, the emission of breath in the former being richer than in the case of the latter. Compare further—

səlá^, opinion and **cəlá,** drive
viJí^ná, being married **diJiná,** is given.

When a toned syllable comes in an unstressed position, especially in the vicinity of another toned syllable or stressed word, it loses its pitch to a great extent. The tone remains normal when no other syllable in the sentence is stressed. Note—

mú^˜ kho^l and **mú˜ 'kho^l,** open the mouth.
vá^, in **vá^ Jí, vá,** Well, Sir well.

A scheme of gradation of the tone in a sentence containing a number of toned syllables presents itself thus—

The highest grade is found in a stressed toned syllable.

The lowest grade occurs in the vicinity of the stressed or toned syllable, and the middle grade is in the syllable which receives secondary stress. In the following sentences, No. (1) means highest grade, or full tone; No. (2) middle grade, or semi-tone; and No. (3)

lowest grade.

1 3 2

ke^ṛe mo^ṛe sá^vre-ne, in which village are your parents-in-law

1 2 3

má^˜ nə^˜ cá^ṛ, do not raise your mouth.

See also examples in the chapter on 'Sentence Intonation'.

XI. 4. iii. Effects

The effect of the tone on sounds is remarkable.

(1) Vowels in toned syllable become shorter than the normal types. (I. 3. iv).

(2) Close and half-close vowels become closer, and open and half-open vowels are opener in a toned syllable. (I. 4).

(3) Tone raises the prominence of the first element of a diphthong. (II. 3).

(4) The tone also tends to change rising and even diphthongs to falling ones. (II. 3).

(5) The monosyllabic quality of diphthongs and triphthongs becomes clear by tone. (II. 4).

(6) The reduction of vocalic quality and quantity in a pre-toned or post-toned position has been noted before.

(7) Consonants before a toned vowel become louder and clearer. Their particular attributes become more pronounced. For instance;

(a) The plosion of plosives is increased. (V. 1. i.).

(b) Aspiration is well marked (V. 1. ii(a)).

(c) The vibration of vocal chords in the articulation of voiced consonants before the tone is more audible. (V. 1. i(a)).

(d) Retroflexion and resonance become stronger. (V. 1. ii.).

(e) The trills in [r] increase and it is articulated slightly backward. (V. 3. ii.).

(f) The friction in the fricative consonants is more evident. (V. 4).

(g) The semi-vowel assumes consonantal quality.

XII

THE WORD

XII

THE WORD

1. General.
2. Sandhi.
   - (i) Vowel Sandhi.
   - (ii) Consonant Sandhi.
3. Pause.
   - (i) In Words.
   - (ii) In Sentences.
   - (iii) Between Sentences.
   - (iv) Other.
4. Stress.
   - (i) Disyllabic Words.
   - (ii) Trisyllabic Words.
   - (iii) Quadrisyllabic Words.
   - (iv) Compound Words.
   - (v) Syntactical.
   - (vi) Conclusion.
   - (vii) Effect of Stress-accent.

more so before a voiced consonant of the same articulation. (VI. 2). Examples—

sʌc Ji hoiá, it is true **hik ghʌɽí,** one watch or pitcher
sʌpgo, lizard **us do áne˜ ditte,** he gave two annas.

(8) A voiced consonant followed by a breathed one is devocalized. (VI. 1(b)):

sʌd tə sʌ^í, call you may
dʌb ki, much
dozká˜c, in hell, etc.

Also refer to the Chapter on 'Voice and Breath'.

(9) A dental plosive followed by a palato-alveolar consonant undergoes regressive assimilation, as in

sʌt cár já^rá˜, = **sʌc-cár já^rá˜,** seven and four make eleven.
bʌd zát, = **bʌz-zát,** wicked
hʌth Joɽ, = **hʌJ-Joɽ,** fold hands.

(10) When the final consonant of a word and the initial consonant of the following word are the same, they form a double consonant and the first consonant loses its secondary articulation, as in

bhʌn nʌ^í˜, do not break **hor ro,** weep more
kʌt tə˜ sʌ^í, spin you may **gʌl lá,** embrace
sʌs sāū^rá, parents-in-law.

(11) An aspirated plosive followed by another aspirated plosive loses its aspiration in Sandhi.

vekh (see) **khá˜** (I say) = **vekkhá˜,** see, see
ʌṭh ṭhʌppe, eight moulds = **ʌṭṭhʌppe**
puch choɽ, ask and leave = **pucchoɽ,** etc.

(12) Aspiration is also lost before a plosive and **[s]** or **[sh]**, as in

sikh tə˜ = **siktə˜** **rʌkh sá˜** = **rʌksá˜**

(13) **[r]** is reduced in resonance, before

(a) a plosive as in **kirpú,** a name;
(b) a stressed syllable as in **sir'dár,** chief;
(c) **[s]** or **[sh]**, as in **khursí,** chair, **murshud,** teacher.

(14) **[l]** is changed to **[n]** in the vicinity of a nasal consonant, as in

nʌkhnʌú, H. Lakhnau, Lucknow
kámunpur, Kamalpur, Campbellpur.

(15) **[r]** and **[l]** are slightly devocalized after a breathed plosive,

especially **[th]**, as in

methre, seed of potherb **cupithlá,** square
bʌkrá, he goat **trʌklá,** spindle.

Also see chapter on 'Plosion', 'Voice and Breath', 'Retroflexion', 'Aspiration', and phonemic treatment of various sounds. For historical cases of assimiliation and dissimilation see index in the "*Lahndi Phonology*" and the pages referred to therein.

XII. 3. Pause

XII. 3. i. In Words

(1) The pause, in unstressed disyllabic words of which the first syllable ends in a short vowel, is short. Compare—

pʌl.á, skirt and **polá,** hollow
kiɽá, woven reeds **kíɽá,** insect
puɽá, packet **púɽá,** a sweet dish.

It need not be remarked that pause is one of the important factors that determine the distinctness of syllabic division. That is why a word is said to consist of as many syllables as there are pauses in it.

(2) The pause between the two elements of a double consonant is shorter than between consonants in a cluster. Compare—

kʌppuṇ, to cut and **kʌpṛá,** cloth
nikká, small **nikcú,** small
vʌḍḍá, big **vʌḍká,** old man
kʌssí, ravine **kʌsbí,** artisan.

(3) Among consonant-groups, pause is shorter between plosive and plosive than between other conjuncts. Compare—

nikcú, small and **niklá,** gone out
kʌpki, cutting **kʌpsá^˜,** we shall reap
etc.

(4) Pause before stress is always longer, e.g. in

bʌṇá, made **bə'ṇá,** make
sálá, brother-in-law **sə'lá^,** conference
māūlí, priest **mu'láJhá,** regard.

(5) The above conditions also apply in trisyllabic as well as quadrisyllabic words. Examples—

XII. 1. General

Much has been said about the Awankari word in this thesis. A word in Awankari may begin either with a vowel or with a consonant. Any vowel or any consonant (excepting ṇ, ʟ and ɾ)may begin a word. The number of words beginning with [j], [z], [t], [sh], [r], [ḍ] and [n] is small. Words containing aspirates are comparatively few. Semi-vowels do not stand at the end of words. A short vowel also does not end a word.

A long or double consonant does not begin a word. Finally in a word a long or double consonant occurs when the syllable is stressed. No word ends in a consonant group. Initially also very few words have a consonant group of which, generally, the second member is [r]. (See "Consonant Clusters.") Much has been said regarding the incidence of simple vowels, diphthongs, triphthongs, tones, stress, etc., in Awankari words. Regarding the occurrence of consonant groups please refer to the Chapter concerned.

A word may contain one to four syllables. About 52 per cent words are disyllabic, 32 per cent monosyllabic, 15 per cent trisyllabic and only one per cent words are quadrisyllabic. The number of syllables increases in speech on account of grammatical formations.

XII. 2. Sandhi

Sometimes, neighbouring sounds undergo a Sandhi which may take place either in the course of the historical development of the dialect, or in the course of the actual pronunciation of already formed words or sentences in modern times. Here we are concerned with the latter case only, i.e., the replacement of sounds in the course of actual pronunciation of existing words and sentences.

Assimilation is the common form of Sandhi in Awankari dialect. We have already noted under various sounds how they are affected by neighbouring sounds. Assimilation may be regressive or progressive. It is regressive when the final sound of a word or syllable is assimilated by the initial sound of the following word or syllable. Assimilation is progressive if, on account of the influence of the preceding sound, the following sound is changed to complete or partial likeness to that sound.

XII. 2. i. Vowel Sandhi

(1) A long vowel followed by another vowel of the same articulation is further lengthened, as in

bhirává˜-á˜ = bhirává˜: (to brothers)
trí^ (thirty) **í = trí^:** (thirty only)
de (demon) **e** (obl.) **= de:**

(2) A long vowel followed by another vowel of different articulation becomes short in connected speech and in diphthongs (formed by that vowel plus grammatical termination). Compare—

vʌḍkí, old woman, **vʌḍkíá˜,** old women
bhāiṛá, bad, **bhāiṛá āi^iá,** which sounds like **bhāiṛāi^iá,** was bad
sú, give birth, **súí,** (she) gave birth
ghʌre álá = ghʌriálá, house-master.

(3) A vowel in the vicinity of a nasal sound or sounds may become nasalized. For fuller treatment see Section I. 5. on 'Nasalization of Vowels'.

(4) In rapid speech a nasal vowel, followed by a stressed syllable, or word containing no nasal sound, loses its nasality. For example—

tú˜, in **tú 'kitthe vāise˜,** where will you go?
mai˜, in **māi 'hitthe rá^sá˜,** I shall remain here.
má^˜, in **má^ 'de tə˜ sʌ^í,** please give it to me.

But before a nasalized syallable—

tú˜ 'ghin vʌ˜J, you take away
māi˜ nʌ˜gá baiṭhá rʌ^vá˜, may I sit naked
má^˜ gʌṇ de, Give me after counting.

(5) The final long vowel of a word is shortened in rapid speech, especially in compound words.

[o] in **do,** > **[u]** in **dutʌ^í,** a double sheet, **dulʌttí,** kicking with two legs, **dupṛí,** double covered bread.
[í] in **ví^,** > **[i]** in **vi^bái,** 20 or 22, or **zimmí˜,** in **zimidár,** landlord, etc.

(6) Vowels in other combinations are generally retained intact.

XII. 2. ii. Consonant Sandhi

(7) A voiceless consonant followed by a voiced one is vocalized,

mushʌddí, of Mashhad
mukʌdmá˜, law-suit
məsúṛe, gums
vəgāinen, they throw
zimidárí, wife of a Zimindar
mʌ˜mmuddín, a name.

XII. 3. ii. In Sentences

Pause at the end of a word is determined by its relation to other words in connected speech, when it is governed by the following factors—

(a) Stress
(b) Pitch
(c) Tone
(d) Punctuation.

(6) Pause is always longer before a stressed word. Compare—

(a) **māī˜ usá^˜ 'kʌḍh desá˜**, I shall turn him out
māī˜ 'usá^˜ kʌḍh desá˜, ditto

(b) **us ʌJ 'báJrá kʌp ki á˜dá**, today he brought cutting *millet.*

us 'ʌJ báJrá, kʌp ki á˜dá, *today* ditto.
us ʌJ báJrá 'kʌp ki á˜dá, ditto *cutting.*
us ʌJ báJrá kʌp ki 'á˜dá, ditto *brought.*

(7) Tone affects the length of a pause in the same manner as the stress. But if semantic stress is on a different word, the pause before a toned syllable is considerably less, because of weakening in the tone.

tú˜ bá^ro˜ áiá˜, you have come from outside
but **tú báro˜ 'áiá˜**, you have *come* from outside.
səlá^ kʌrsá^˜, we shall consult
but **'ʌssí səlá kʌrsá^˜**, we shall confer.

(8) When a syllable follows a rising pitch the pause after the pitch is longer than before a stressed syllable. Compare—

pəkerá, stronger but **ke ná˜ne˜**, what is their name
vicárá, poor follow but **cá khə˜ sāū^˜**, take oath.

(9) In the course of a sentence, the speaker cannot pause where and when he desires. He must have sense groups or immediate constituents separated, as if, by commas.

Between breath-groups or sense-groups, which will be described in the next section, pause is a little longer than between words in

the same breath-group.

vʌ˜J gámiá˜, ḍʌ˜grá˜ kho^l ki páṇí lá^ áṇ, Go, Gama, untying the cattle take them to drink water.

In the above sentence the quantity of pause after **gámiá˜** and again after **ki** is remarkable.

(10) Pause after breath-groups may be graded as under.

There is a slight pause after each adverbial phrase, as after **ḍʌ˜grá˜ kho^l ki,** in the above sentence. The comma of exclamation is longer than that. The comma of connection or co-ordination as between two clauses of a compound or complex sentence is longer still. Yet the commas of digression or paranthesis are much longer. Examples—

(1) **rʌbbá, māī˜ ke kʌrá˜**, O God, what shall I do?
(2) **áhá, māūJ bʌṇ gʌí-e, ʌhá**, it is an enjoyment!
(3) **māī˜ tə˜ bá^sá˜, tú˜ ke krese˜**, I shall sit, but what will you do?
(4) **əṇokhá, tudhá^˜ pʌttʌíe, Jhʌllá.**, Anokha, you know, is mad.

XII. 3. iii. Between sentences

It is dangerous to lay down any hard and fast rules about the pause between sentences. It may be very long in slow and thoughtful speech. It may be very short between utterances in excitement. Again it may be long between sentences of request and short between orders. It may also vary among individuals. It is, however, a determined fact that pause is longer between sentences than in the interior of a sentence in one particular speech.

XII. 3. iv. Other

The comparative length of pauses may be thus illustrated—

vʌ˜J oe gámiá˜, ḍʌ˜grá˜ kho^l ki páṇí lá^ áṇ. ʌJe tə˜ búrí gá˜ ví coṇí-ə˜ ti kʌṭí-ə˜ gutává ví pá˜vṇʌí˜.

Go, O Gama, untying the cattle take them to drink water. Yet you have to milch the short-horned cow and you have to put fodder to the calf.

(i) Pause is longest between two independent sentences, i.e., after the full stop.

(ii) The pause between co-ordinate clauses is shorter as after **coṇí-ə˜** or after **vʌ˜J.**

(iii) Shorter than the above is the pause at the comma of address, i.e. after **gámiá˜.**

(iv) Next is the pause before the stressed **páṇí, gá˜** and **gutává.**

(v) Shorter still is the pause before toned **kho^l,** and **lá^.**

(vi) Last of all in the order are the pauses after other words. In these cases pause is so short that to a foreigner the group of continuous words may sound as one word, as,

kho^l ki = kho^lki
gá˜ ví coṇiə˜ = gá˜vícoṇiə˜
gutává ví = gutávávi.

XII. 4. Stress

Stress in Awankari is prominent. It is particularly remarkable in Pákhṛí, where it is accompanied by a strong jerk of the head, higher rise of the tongue and an active movement of the larynx. I feel also an activity of the abdomen as in deep and rapid inhaling of breath. During my linguistic tours, a Reshí speaker described Pákhṛí as a "loud and vigorous language." Another said, "They throw stones of sounds."

Syllables in a word or sentence which are rendered more prominent than the surrounding syllables by being pronounced with a stronger force of breath are said to be stressed. Stressed syllables are also called tonic syllables. The syllable immediately preceding a stressed syllable is called a pre-tonic or pre-accentual syllable, and syllable following it is called post-accentual syllable.

Stress is mostly a matter of intonation and will be discussed as such later. But here some broad features of the incidence of stress may be mentioned.

XII. 4. i. Disyllabic words

(1) When a long or half-long vowel occurs finally in both

syllables, stress is even, as in

cálá, custom	**roṭí,** bread
veco, sell	**búJo,** monkey
soná, gold	**cíṛe,** clothes
álú, potato	**nílí,** blue
bhāīṛe, bad	
ūukhá, difficult.	

(2) When the two syllables are short, stress is again even. Examples—

ʌdkur, ginger	**buc.uṛ,** extra stitch
cʌṭṭuṇ, to lick	**bʌttər,** worse
udhul, rape	

etc.

(3) When the first syllable is long and the second short, there is slight stress on the first.

áṭhur, to dry (v.)	**copuṛ,** besmear
odur, be sad	**vetur,** cut (v.)
cíkuṇ, to cry	**mútur,** urine
sāū˜kuṇ, co-wife	

etc.

(4) There is prominent stress on the final syllable when it is long, preceded by a short syllable.

i'mán, faith	**phu'lá^,** palash tree
mi'ṭhái, pudding (pákhṛí)	**və˜'gár,** challenge (v.)
ə'gás, sky	**vijá^,** marriage
lu'ḍá, dangle (v.)	**su'ṇá,** tell (v.).

EXCEPTIONS. Variation in stress is due to expressiveness. Exception to No. (4) occurs in past participles and a number of loanwords.

ʌxtá, restless	**ghid.á,** taken
ʌthrá, impatient	**kʌpṛá,** cloth
khursí, chair	etc.

Similarly exceptions to No. (2) occur in a number of abstract nouns and some verbal forms, as in

Jhə'lʌt, foolishness	**cə'muṭ,** stick (v.)
hi'kʌl, loneliness	**ni'khuṭ,** finish
və'lid, roll (v.)	**u'bʌt,** vomiting.

XII. 4. ii. Trisyllabic words

Before we take up the scheme in Awankari, the following general law of stress in Indo-Aryan languages may be noted so that we are enabled to compare things properly.

"The stress falls on the penultimate syllable if the vowel therein is long; if the penultimate is short, then on the antepenultimate; if that again is short, then on the fourth syllable from the end." With this may also be considered Dr. B. D. Jain's exception that the penultimate, if long by position, is not stressed.

In Awankari, as a rule, the penultimate syllable is stressed unconditionally and without exception.

udhálá, rape — **hikʌ^llá,** alone
bərúṛí, sore — **kuháṛí,** axe
bhəṭiṭṭur, sand-grouse — **məhíná˜,** month
bəroṭá, small tree — **piṛkāṇḍí,** a game.

In fact, the antepenultimate in Awankari is always short.

XII. 4. iii. Quadrisyllabic words

The same scheme holds good in Awankari quadrisyllabic words which, by the way, are not numerous. Compare—

pʌdbə'heṛá, mushroom — **cárcə'pherí,** all round
beli'házá, regardless — **nezə'bází,** tent-pegging
hərám'zidkí, treachery.

In the above words, if any long syllable occurs before the antepenultimate, it is considerably shortened in effect.

XII. 4. iv. Compound words

The Scheme of stress-accent in compound words is slightly different.

I. Stress is even

(a) in copulative (Dwandwa) compound, as

hʌth-pāir, hand and feet — **nikká-vʌḍḍá,** all young and old
killí-phitá, a game with a peg and stone — **ʌ˜dur-bá^r,** inside and outside

ʌ˜J-bá^˜, limbs (limbs and arms) — **khávuṇ-pívuṇ,** eating and drinking
má-pe, mother and father — **kut.e ká˜e,** to dog and crow (waste)
bhʌn-ghʌṛ, change for money — **mʌJh-gá˜,** milch-animal (buffalo and cow)
gʌl-kʌth, chit-chat.

(b) in echo words, as

Jʌṇá˜ khʌṇá˜, every man — **nik shuk,** everything
pú˜g pá˜g, younger ones — **roṭí shoṭí,** food
sukká pukká, blank — **ve^lá vá˜dá,** quite empty
guṛguṛí, smoking pipe.

II. Stress occurs on the initial syllable of the final words, in

(a) Substantive compounds, as

zimi'dár, landlord — **ʌṭho'várí,** week (eight days)
səp'ku˜J, slough — **mʌthá 'sʌṛiá,** an abuse (head-burnt)
sirmunní, shaven (fem.)
pāiro˜'vá^ṇá, bare-footed.

(b) Adverbial compounds, as

khulmə'khul.á, loose, open — **cárcəpherí,** all round
rispə'ríse, in imitation

etc.

(c) Attributive and Appositional compounds, as

kálá-shá^, jet black
vʌḍ-'pʌgge, a caste (having big turbans) — **vʌ˜J'ṛiá˜d,** an abuse
sikhá-'shá^í, Sikh Govt. — **lʌm'ḍhá˜gá,** tall like bamboo
ṭá˜gər'pe^lá, a big ant — **hʌtho'pái,** quarrel
sʌvá'dhán (conceived as a compound word), complete
səṭ'ʌṭh, seven or eight — **du'cár,** two or four
rʌttá'lál, very red — **si˜g'válá,** a village (of Sikhs).

(d) Names of persons, as

sítá'rám — **rám'si˜gh**
ʌggər'xán — **láṭí'kín**
Jərám'shá^ — **rám dás'shá**
Gulám'nʌbbí — **krishuṇ'lál**

XII. 4. v. Syntactical

In a sentence, as will be noted in connection with intonation, stress falls ordinarily on a word representing the psychological subject or predicate. But when the word is qualified by an adjective or an adverb, the primary stress falls on that qualifying word although the subject or predicate also retains some stress. Compare—

hik 'dhágá pá dittá, a thread was put
'hik dhágá pá dittá, one thread was put
hik 'sává dhágá pá dittá, a green thread was put
hik dhágá 'vʌl pá dittá, a thread was well put.

A word or a group of words of semantic importance are generally stressed, whatever grammatical category may be. Examples—

(1) **maĩ˜ḍhe kolo˜ ghin cá,** take it from me (verb)
(2) **má^˜ roṭí deo,** give me bread (noun)
(3) **má^˜ roṭí te səlúṇe deo,** give me bread and cooked vegetables (noun)
(4) **usá^˜ sʌṛí oí roṭí nə^˜ devṇá,** do not give him burnt bread (adj.)
(5) **maĩ˜ 'bʌ^ú˜ cʌ˜gá kitá,** I did very well (adverb)
(6) **'kí kítʌí,** what have you done? (Inter. pronoun)
(7) **vʌ˜J ki 'us ke ákhiá,** Going what did he say? (pronoun)

It is for future scholars of Comparative Phonetics to investigate and compare the incidence of stress in English, Punjabi and Hindi and Lahndi. Take for example the first sentence.

Aw. **maĩ˜ḍhe kolo˜ 'ghin cá,**
Pun. mere kolo˜ lāī lāi,
Eng. Take it from me.

It appears that the stress falls most strikingly on the English word 'take', the other syllables being very much reduced. Next comes Awankari which has a secondary stress on **maĩ˜ḍhe** as well. But in Punjabi, not only the stress on **lāī** is comparatively weaker, no secondary stress on any other word appears. Thus it seems to me that in English stress is very prominent, in Awankari it is appreciable, while in Punjabi it is rather weak. It is, perhaps, Hindi, Punjabi or Bengali accent which led Bloch to conclude that the Indo-Aryan languages in India have no stress-accent. Lahndi does have prominent stress.

XII. 4. vi. Conclusion

From the above discussions it may be concluded that while disyllabic single words may or may not have a stress, words with more than two syllables must have a strongly stressed syllable; in trisyllabic words it is the second, in quadrisyllabic words it is the third. The weakest syllable is before the strongest one.

The majority of compound words have a strong stress on the second word. In sentences there is at least one stressed syllable with a secondary stress in some following syllable.

XII. 4. vii. Effect of Stress-Accent

The effect of stress on sounds has already been noted while considering various Awankari sounds. For example—

In stressed position short vowels become long and long vowels still longer.

Close vowels become closer and open vowels opener when stressed.

Progressive or regressive nasalization does not take place when the nasal consonant begins a stressed syllable.

Stress may change the nature, quality and quantity of diphthongs. See chapter II.

Retroflexion, aspiration, plosion, friction and, in fact, all the various qualities of consonants become strong in a stressed syllable.

Stress clears the doubt between a long and a double consonant. Doubling is distinct in a stressed word.

Similarly in prestressed or post-stressed position, vowels tend to become shorter, opener or closer than the normal types.

Reference may be made to the respective chapters.

XIII

THE SENTENCE

XIII

THE SENTENCE

1. The Sentence.
2. Sentence Intonation.
   - (i) Plain Statements.
   - (ii) Active and Passive Voices.
   - (iii) Negative Sentences.
   - (iv) Questions.
   - (v) Emphatic Sentences.
   - (vi) Wonder.
   - (vii) Commands.
   - (viii) Apology.
   - (ix) Request.
   - (x) Proposal.
   - (xi) Call.
   - (xii) Courtesy.
   - (xiii) Wish.
   - (xiv) Conditional Mood.
   - (xv) Oath-giving.
   - (xvi) Affection.
   - (xvii) Curse.
   - (xviii) Blessing.
   - (xix) Deliberation.

3. Compound Sentences.
4. Complex Sentences.

XIII. 1. The sentence

A sentence in Awankari is generally small, containing from one to five or six words. In narrative speech these sentences are joined up by conjunctions such as **te,** and, **hor,** and, **vʌt, tá˜,** then, **Je,** that, etc. In such condition, the sentence itself forms a breath group. In the sentence **us ákhiá Ji mai˜ vaisá˜ ti kʌm kʌr ásá˜,** he said that I will go and do the work, three separate breath-groups are formed at the end of each clause.

Breath groups are further formed by punctuation, adverbial phrases and sense-groups. Let us take a long sentence—

hik pʌ^ṛá likhá dʌrzí kʌ^í˜ girá˜e-c ʌpṇá kʌm kár krená˜ rá^naiiá, a literate tailor, in some village, used to do his business.

In this sentence, the following breath groups are formed—

1. **hik pʌ^ṛá likhá dʌrzí,** a literate tailor
2. **kʌ^í˜ girá˜e-c,** in some village
3. **ʌpṇá kʌm kár,** his business
4. **krená˜ rá^naiiá,** used to do;

and in the sentence **ú cʌ˜gí tʌ^rá˜ kʌm krená,** he does his work very well, the adverbial phrase **cʌ˜gí tʌ^rá˜,** very well, separates the sentence into three breath-groups.

We have discussed the point more fully under 'Pause'. Here it may only be pointed out that in Awankari, each simple, complex or compound sentence is divided into breath-groups or sense-groups.

In conversational style the sense-groups are longer than in description or narration. The more deliberate the speech, the more groups are made. In a series of groups, variety is obtained by change of pitch, each breath-group forming an intonation group.

XIII. 2. Sentence Intonation

Intonation is most important in order to decide the meaning of the sentence concerned. Generally, intonation reveals (1) question, (2) emphasis, (3) wonder, (4) command, (5) apology, (6) request,

(7) proposal, (8) pathetic condition, (9) courtesy, (10) wish, (11) affection, (12) curse, (13) blessing, (14) deliberation, (15) flouting, (16) blushing, (17) amorous gesture, (18) anger, and so on.

These moods are expressed not only by variations in intonation but also by simultaneous gestures or movements of eyes, nose, forehead, lips and hands.

By intonation is meant the rise and fall of the pitch when we speak. Intonation varies from locality to locality and from individual to individual. I shall discuss the intonation of Awankari as I speak it.

In the following pages intonation is represented by dots and lines placed over the line of ordinary speaking voice. Dots represent approximately level pitches, [—] a significant or mid pitch, ['] a stressed syllable and the vertical lines represent rising[⌈] or falling [⌋] pitch. Each dot or line has reference to one syllable. [‾] means stress and pitch together. When any of these pitches is prominent or secondary, it is so indicated in description.

XIII. 2. i. Plain Statements

(1) . . ‾ .
koṭhá ḍhai^ piá (The house has collapsed.)

(2) . . ‾ . ' .
uthe shʌí˜ pʌ^íá˜ viknián (There things are being sold.)

(3) ' . . ‾ . . . . — .
hik dhiáṛe vʌ˜J ke mai˜ usá^˜ məresá˜ (One day, going, I shall beat him.)

(4) . ‾ . . . . . — . . — . . . .
hik shúm ʌpṇe doste ne˜ ghʌr us ne˜ putrá˜ miluṇ geá (One miser to his friend's house, in order to see his sons, went.)

The main idea regarding plain statements is that the longer a sentence, the leveller is the pitch of the majority of syllables. Another fact is that in the plain statements, the pitch goes with the stress. The higher the stress, the higher the pitch. There is a pitch also on the most significant words to which the speaker wishes to draw his hearer's attention.

XIII. 2. ii. Active and Passive Voices

Active and passive voices both follow the scheme of plain statements and there is nothing particular about them.

Active Voice—

(1) **maĩ roṭi kháᵔdi** (I ate bread.)

(2) **khiṭ 'cáke ʌpṇi shaĩ sháᵔdhi cá áṇ** (Running, your things bring.)

Passive Voice—

(3) **maĩ ḍhe kolo dáṇe nʌᵔĩ cəbíne** (By me grains cannot be eaten.)

(4) **maĩᵔ ḍhe ghʌr á ke shʌíá nʌᵔĩ ghijíniá ti chʌṛá təmáshá vikhíná** (Coming to my house things are not taken and only fun is seen.)

XIII. 2. iii. Negative Sentences

(1) **náᵔ vaĩná** (Not do I go).

(2) **maĩ vʌᵔJke vekhiá təᵔ koí nʌᵔĩ baiṭhaĩiá** (I going saw, then no one was sitting there.)

(3) **rám nʌᵔĩ ánáᵔ** (Rama does not come.)

(4) **maĩ te ləhaĩr ví nəᵔ ḍiṭṭhá** (I did not see even Lahore.)

(5) **o nəᵔ khaĩná nəᵔ píná** (He neither eats nor drinks.)

The negative sentence has a significant pitch, i.e. generally the pitch occurs in the word negatived in the sentence. The highest pitch also follows the highest stress.

XIII. 2. iv. Questions

(a) Questions of Fact

(1) **kor e** (Who is it ?)

(2) **kitthe vaĩseᵔ** (Where will you go ?)

(3) **kaĩᵔḍhe ghʌr vʌᵔJṇʌíᵔ** (To whose house have you to go ?)

(4) **məᵔᵔ dʌs maĩᵔ kʌduṇ mʌrná** (Tell me when I have to die.)

The new idea regarding questions of fact is that though the last syllable has the prominent pitch, a secondary pitch with the highest stress also occurs in the first syllable of the interrogative particle.

(b) Questions requiring "Yes" or "No"

(1) **baiṭhe o** (Are you sitting ?)

(2) **ḍhokáᵔ te vaĩso** (To the hamlet will you go ?)

(3) **usnəᵔ pio áiá ki nʌᵔĩ** (His father has come or not ?)

(4) **tuḍḍe ghʌr ʌḍḍá nikṛá bhirá aĩṭhá** (Reshi) (In your house our younger brother *is* sitting ?)

In such sentences the final syllable has a pitch higher than the syllable of a question of fact. Stress falls on the first syllable of the verb. There is no secondary pitch in these sentences, all other syllables having a low monotone.

(c) Questions of Doubt

(1) **sʌcí muci sí lʌgʌí** (Truly or not, cold have you got ?)

(2) **us tudháᵔᵔ koí máriá** (Did he to you give any beating ?).

(3) **rʌb Jáṇe ke gʌl e** (God knows what the matter is ?)

In questions of doubt, as in plain statements, the highest pitch goes with the highest stress, but with the difference that here there is a secondary high pitch in any final syllable, while in plain statements the final syllable is quite low. When the doubt is expressed not in the *form* of a question (as in sentence No. 2 above), the first syllable of the verb is secondarily stressed and there is no secondary pitch.

(d) Questions asking reason

In such questions the highest pitch with the highest stress occurs in the interrogative particle. There is a secondary pitch on the last syllable.

(1)
usáˆˆ kioˆ máreʌí (Him why have you beaten ?)

(2)
oˆ kíkuɲ mʌr giá (How has he died ?)

(3)
rʌmzáneˆ neˆ bhiráú kioˆ hīˆJ kítá (Ramzan's brother why did he do thus ?)

(e) Questions of determination or despair

Such questions follow the scheme of questions of fact, the highest pitch with stress being on the first syllable of the interrogative particle, and a secondary high pitch on the last syllable.

(1)
háe maīˆ kidde vʌˆJáˆ (Alas, Where shall I go ?)

(2)
tussí dʌso maīˆ ke kʌráˆ (You tell me what I should do ?)

(3)
maīˆ usáˆˆ kioˆ nəˆ már sʌṭṭáˆ (Why should I not kill him ?)

(f) Alternative questions

They follow the scheme of the questions requiring the answer 'yes' or 'no'. Highest pitch occurs on the syllable at the end of each alternative question. A secondary pitch is noticeable at the end of first alternative question.

(1)
túˆ áseˆ ki vaīseˆ (You will come or go ?)

(2)
maīˆ ʌˆdur bʌˆváˆ ki báˆr (I may sit inside or outside ?).

(3)
tussí ʌJ roṭí khaīso ki lʌghuɲ mughuɲ ṭikke ráˆso
(You will to-day take meals or remain keeping fast ?)

XIII. 2. v. Emphasis

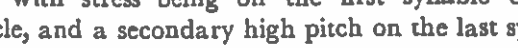
(a) Contempt

In an emphatic sentence showing contempt there is highest pitch with highest stress on the word or words emphasized, and the remaining syllables are spoken low. The emphatic word is thus made prominent.

(1)
práˆˆ thí (Away be).

(2)
phiṭe múˆˆ i (Sour be your face).

(3)
cʌxe sāīˆriá (fie, you father-in-law).

(4) 
bʌˆúˆ koJháˆ, taīˆḍhe kolo˜ mushuk áníˆ e (You are very dirty, from you bad smell comes).

(b) Abuse

The scheme here is the same as in sentences of contempt.

(1)
haī beṛí buḍiá (O you boat-drowned).

(2)
bhaīṛá múˆˆ te cʌˆdrá náˆ (Wretched face and bad name).

(3)
dʌfá thí sáīˆ moiá (Get away, you whose master is dead).

(4)
khəlo khəˆ taīˆḍhí náˆní nəˆ nʌk sítaīiá (Stay, you, whose grandmother's nose is sewn).

(c) Threat

Here also the scheme is the same as for abuse or contempt.

(1)

maĩ̃ ḍhe piche áiõ̱ tə̃ mʌrsʌú̱̃ (If you come after me, I will beat you).

(2)

kʌdí isá^̃ həláiaí tə̃ maĩ̃ ví puch ghísá̱̃ (If you move it, then I also will take action).

(3)

ʌsí ví bʌccú taĩ̃ḍhe kolõ̱ puch ghisá^̃ (We also, O child, will take you to task).

(d) Warning

It is to be noted that there is nothing new about such sentences. The scheme of the foregoing sentences is followed here also.

(1)

ʌge geõ̱ tə̃ ráshuk khá vaĩsiá .(If you go further, the demon will eat you up).

(2)

hʌṭ və̃Jaĩ^ gá̱̃ mə̃resnẽ̱ (Get away, the cow might beat you).

(3)

so^Jhá mʌte gá̱̃ lʌt mə̃reí (Beware lest the cow may kick you).

(4)

vʌt nə̃ bhiṛẽ̱ (Do not fight again).

(5)

saĩ̃ rʌ̃^ huthe cup kʌrke nʌ́ĩ̃ tə̃ már səṭesnú̱̃ (Sleep there silent, otherwise they will kill you).

(e) Advice

The scheme is essentially the same here, too.

(1)

ʌJkʌí do vele nhátá kʌr (Nowadays, two times take bath).

(2)

tussí saĩl kʌruṇ gaíe kʌro (You for a walk should go).

(3)

ʌpṇe kolõ̱ nikiá̱̃ nál nə^̃ kheḍá kʌr (With those younger than you, you should not play).

(4)

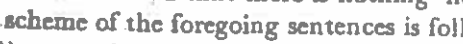
maĩ̃ḍhe ákhe lʌgẽ̱ tə̃ ukká nə̃ vʌ̃J (If you do what I say, do not go at all).

(f) Exclamation in Joy and Sorrow

Highest pitch occurs on the syllable stressed. But the new idea in such sentences is that there is also a secondary pitch on the last syllable.

(1)

há ní maĩ̃ḍhie máe (Ah, my mother)!

(2) 

áhá Jí lále orá̱̃ ʌ̃m á̱̃den (Aha, father has brought mangoes)

(3)

háe háe, usá^̃ ke hoiá (Ha, ha, what has happened to him)!

(4)

vá^ vá ke sáḍí mʌ̃J bʌṇ gʌí e (Well, well, our enjoyment has become)!

This scheme also applies in sentences containing disgust and solemn invocation.

XIII. 2. vi. Wonder

These sentences have the pitch on the stressed syllable and if the wonder is expressed in the form of a question, there is secondary pitch on the last syllable of that verb.

(1)

tussí dhiáṛic əṭhá^rá̱̃ ghʌ̃ṭe kʌm kərene o (You, during day, do 18 hours' work)!

(2)

tú̱̃ uthe hikʌllá baiṭhá riá̱̃ (You there alone had been sitting)!

(3) oe tāĩ̃ḍhá tə̃ dá̃d mʌr giá te tú̃ ithei̇ vʌtná̃ (O, your bull has died and you roam about here)!

(4) e^bi kʌdi̇ supiʌi̇̃ bhái mʌṛdá̃ nẽ ḍhiḍhecõ Játuk Jʌmnen (Have you heard even this that from man's belly children are born)?

XIII. 2. vii. Commands

Highest pitch with stress is on the principal verb, the other syllables being pronounced in a low monotone. But if a specific thing is ordered, stress and pitch are high on the word denoting it. In that case the verb and other syllables are pronounced in a low monotone.

(1) cá á̃ṇ (carry and bring).

(2) mʌ̃Ji̇ ghiniá (Bedstead take up).

(3) bú^e shú^e már choṛo (Shut the doors, etc.).

(4) uṭh vʌ̃J ke ḍʌ̃grá̃ muṭh shuṭh páe á, [Get up, and go, to the animals put some fodder, etc.).

XIII. 2. viii. Apology

Both high pitch and high stress occur somewhere before the last word. If there are more than one sentence, they may also have similar pitch. Other syllables in a sentence are pronounced in a low monotone.

(1) Jiõ Jáṇná̃ choṛ de (As you know, please, let me go).

(2) cácá mai̇̃ tāĩ̃ḍhe paire pāɪ̃ná̃ is gʌlá̃ vʌ̃Juṇ de

(Uncle, I fall on your feet, let this matter go).

(3) koi̇ bhul cuk hoi̇ hove tə̃ bʌxush deẽ (If any fault is done, then excuse it).

(4) lálá mai̇̃ tāĩ̃ḍhe ʌge hʌth bənhẽná̃ mai̇̃ḍhe putre-á̃ kuJh nə̃ ákhẽ (Brother, I fold my hands before you, to my son do not say anything).

XIII. 2. ix. Request

In requests, the final syllable, which is generally a verb, has a high pitch, while the object governed by it has a highly stressed syllable. The speaker may pronounce that object with a higher tone, if it is emphasized.

(1) vírá zʌrá má^̃ khárí tə̃ cəvá (Brother, please help me carry the basket).

(2) rʌb nə̃ vástʌi̇ nə^̃ vʌ̃Jẽ (For God's sake, do not go).

(3) mʌluk Jí zʌrá páse thivai̇̃^ Ji̇ ṭmai̇ lʌ^gh vʌ̃Já̃ (Malik, Sir, please get aside so that I may pass).

(4) muṇshí Jí má^̃ chuṭṭí deo (Munshi, Sir, give me leave).

XIII. 2. x. Proposal

In proposals the last syllable has a high falling pitch, the other syllables being pronounced in a low monotone. The pitch is significant. The stressed syllable has a secondary pitch. Mark how the tone in əvá^̃ (4th sentence below) is reduced because of its post-accentual position.

(1) á və̃Já^̃ (Come, let us go)

(2)
maĩ̃ ḍhĩ́ səlá^ ve ithe ĩ́ saĩ̃ pʌvvá̃ (It is my proposal, I may sleep here).

(3)
hik dil krená Je təláe te vʌ̃J ke kʌpṛe dho áṇá̃ (One intention I have is that going to the tank I may get the clothes washed).

(4)
á nĩ́̃ cʌnnõ, ĩ́ itthe baĩṭhĩ́ rʌ^ve, tú̃ te maĩ̃ siápiõ

muṛ əvá^^ (Come Channo, she may keep sitting here, and you and I may return from mourning).

XIII. 2. xi. Call

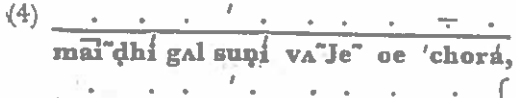
When the call is from a great distance, high pitch is on the last syllable. Other syllables are pronounced with a monotone.

When the call is merely an address at a short distance, the pitch follows the stress. Compare—

(1)
'mámá̃ Jí, and **mámá 'Ji** (O uncle)!

(2)
'hidde áve̊, rʌmzáná, and **hidde áve̊ rʌm'záná** (Come hither Ramzan)!

(3)
rʌm'záná, hidde áve̊ and **rʌmzáná, hidde á've̊** (Ramzan, come hither).

(4) 
maĩ̃ḍhĩ́ gʌl suṇĩ́ vʌ̃Je̊ oe 'chorá, and

maĩ̃ḍhĩ́ gʌl suṇĩ́ vʌ̃Je̊ oe cho^'rá (My word listen and go, O Boy)!

XIII. 3. xii. Courtesy

The final syllable has a high pitch, the other syllables being pronounced in a low monotone.

(1)
áo Jí mámá Ji (Come on, please, uncle, Sir)!

(2)
səlám e mʌluk Jí (Salam to you, Malik, Sir)!

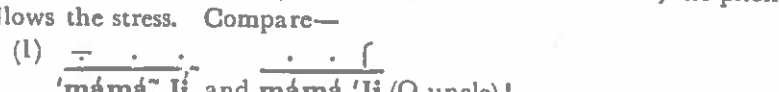
(3)
shá Jí, rám rám (Shah, Sir, greetings)!

XIII. 2. xiii. Wish

The new idea in this scheme is that high pitch occurs on the last syllable, while the highest stress with a secondary pitch occurs in a significant word somewhere before the final syllable.

(1)
háe Ji maĩ̃ uthe hovi̊ á (I wish I could be there)!

(2)
kʌdí rʌb nʌḍhá bəṇáe á, tə̃ ki^á cʌ̃gá aĩ^á (If God had made me a boy, then how good it were)!

(3) 
maĩ̃ḍhe kol dõ saĩ̃ rupʌijá hove á, tə̃ kaĩḍíá̃ mʌnJá̃

hon á (If I had two hundred rupees, then how great enjoyments would have been)!

XIII. 2. xiv. Conditional Mood

Every conditional sentence has two parts, antecedent and subsequent. In each part the final portion has a preceding syllable with the highest pitch with which also goes the stress. A succeeding syllable has a secondary stress.

(1)
kʌdí á giá tə̃ lʌgge vəsá^^ (If he does come then we shall go).

(2)
kʌdí áiõ tə̃ mərise̊ (If you come, you will be beaten).

(3)
kʌdí ákhe lʌg vʌ̃Je̊ á̃ tə̃ vʌl aĩ^á (If you had followed

my word, then it was good).

(4)
kadí tú˜ ná^˜ áio˜ tə˜ asi bú^á már churʂa^ú˜, (If you do not come, then we shall shut the door).

XIII. 2. xv. Oath-giving

In oath-giving intonation depends on the form of the sentence used. If it is an imperative sentence, it follows the scheme of command.

If the sentence is conditional, it follows the scheme of conditional mood.

(1)
cá khá˜ kurán (Take up the Holy Book, Quran).

(2)
cá khá˜ máú piú ni˜ sãũ^˜ (Take your parent's oath).

(3)
kúr mare˜ tə˜ mar va˜je˜, (If you tell a lie, you may die).

(4)
ákh Ji mai˜ gá˜ khaɾi hove tə˜ a^ná˜ thivá˜ (Say, if I have taken away the cow then I be blind).

XIII. 2. xvi. Affection

In sentences containing affectionate feelings the last syllable of the sentence has the high pitch. Stress may fall on any of the other syllables. If the last word be disyllabic the first syllable has a high stress.

(1)
lálá Jí (O Lala, Sir)!

(2)
val e˜, dhie (Are you well, daughter)!

(3)
á khə˜ mai˜ḍhie bacie (Come on, my child)!

(4)
á khə˜ baccú, mai˜ḍhe kol á va˜J (Come, my child, come on to me).

(5)
cácá tú˜ ca˜gá˜ nə˜, hai˜ nə˜ bhái (Uncle, you are good, isn't it, dear)!

XIII. 2. xvii. Curse

Sentences showing a blessing or curse almost exactly follow the scheme of sentences showing wish, only the stress is somewhat stronger here. But the high pitch at the end is not so long.

(1)
sái˜já˜ putur mari, ra˜ḍi ra^ve˜ (By God, May your son die, may you remain a widow)!

(2)
rab kar ke tai˜ḍhe da˜dá˜c kiɾe pəũn (May God do it, may there be worms in your teeth)!

(3)
shálá saṭ pavi (God wishing, may harm fall on you)!

XIII. 2. xviii. Blessing

(1)
rab ba^ú˜ devi (May God give you much).

(2)
Jive˜ sái˜já˜, vaḍiá˜ umrá˜ (May God prolong your life).

(3)
shálá ráJ pai kare˜, te murádá˜ vekhe˜ (God may wish you power and you see your desires fulfilled).

(4)
jálá putur Jivi, suhág Jivi (God may keep your son living, may your husband live).

XIII. 2. xix. Deliberation

Sometimes in the course of speech, the speaker begins to deliberate, say after a clause in a compound or complex sentence. The pitch, then, is on the last syllable of the antecedent clause. The pitch, though not so high, is lengthened as in—

(1) . . ' ... . ' ⌋ .

hik dil krená Ji nhá ghinná˜ (I make up one mind that I may take bath).

(2) . . . . ' ... . . ⌋ .

mai^ḍhe piche áio˜, tə˜ mərise˜ (If you come after me, you will have beating).

(3) . . ' .... ' . .

mai˜ te ákhná˜ : lʌgá vʌ˜J (I say : do go).

It should also be noted that the penultimate syllable of the succeeding clause is stressed.

XIII. 3. Compound sentences

We have already noted the intonation scheme of a plain statement in a simple sentence. In compound sentences containing simple statements, the pitch is on the last syllable of the antecedent clause. The syllable preceding it is stressed. The word or words denoting important ideas are stressed. For particular feeling in compound sentences, intonation schemes have been noted above.

(1) . . ⌈ . . . ' ⌈

ú tə˜ áiá pʌr mai˜ Ji ná^˜ giá (he came but I did not go).

(2) . . . ' ⌈ . ' . ⌈

hik vári á vʌ˜J, vʌt muṛ vʌ˜Je˜ (Once do come, then you may return).

(8) ' . . ⌈ ' . . ⌈

ú^bi ási mai˜ vi ásá˜ (He will also come, I shall also come).

(4) . ⌈ . ' . . ⌈

hithe áiá te bai^ ke uṭh giá (He came here and sitting, got away).

(5) . . ' . . . . ' ⌈ . . . . . '

pʌṛsá˜g láke koṭhe te cʌ^ṛ giá te mʌghe to˜ ghʌṛá lá^

. . . . ' . . . ' ⌈

ke rʌssá lʌmká ke tʌle lai^ giá (Placing the stairs, he went up the house and taking down the pitcher from the ventilator he descended by hanging down a rope).

XIII. 4. Complex sentences

The main idea in such sentences is this: The principal clause is spoken at a lower pitch and stress than the sub-clause. The final syllable of the subordinate clause has a high pitch while somewhat before this syllable a stressed syllable occurs. There is a considerable pause before the subordinate clause or clauses.

(1) . . . ' . . ⌈

us ákhiá, he ke krená (He said, "What does he do").

(2) . . . . . ' . ⌈

us ákhiá, mai˜ tə˜ nʌ^ú˜ aná˜ (He said, "I won't come at all").

(3) ' . . . . . ⌈ . . ' ⌈

Je^ṛá má˜má˜ ithe áeai^(j)á, usnə˜ xʌt áiá (The uncle, who came here, his letter has come).

(4) . . . ' ⌈ . . ' . ⌈

Jithe mai˜ bʌn^ná˜ uthe pʌi hosiá (Where I sit, it would be lying there).

(5) . ⌈ . . . ' .

áve˜ tə˜ pʌttá lʌgi (If you come, then you will know).

(6) ' . . ⌈ . . . . ' . .

ai^˜tə˜ Gərib, pʌr bʌṛá hərámi e˜ (You are poor, but you are very wicked).

(7) . . ' . . . . ⌈ . . . . ' . .

koi nãu˜ dá^ dhiáṛe hor lʌghe tə˜ niki ráṇi Játuk Jáiá (Some nine or ten days more passed, the younger queen bore a son).

(8) . . . . ' . . . . ⌈ . . . ' . .

vʌḍi ákhá, mai˜ḍhi dhi Jʌmi ʌ^i tə˜ mai˜ tudhá˜ ʌdhi

. . ' . ' . . , . ⌈ . . ' . .

ditti ʌ^i, huṇ tai˜ḍhá putur Jʌmiá˜, isne ṭoṭe kʌr

Je khəvá˜˜ (The elder one said, 'When my daughter was born, then I gave you half. Now your son is born, his pieces make so that we may eat').

(9)

usá˜˜ koi ḍar nʌ˜ĩ˜, maĩ˜ Je bāiṭhá˜ (He need not fear, because I am sitting).

(10)

bhá˜ve˜ dhup e bhá˜ve˜ chá˜ kheḍṇá zərúr e (Whether it is sunshine or shade, play we must).

TEXTS

TEXTS

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Nota bene

1. The texts were collected personally by the writer from Waṇáḍhí in 1935, from Reshí in 1937 and from Pákhṛí in 1938.

2. Four stories herein have been translated by the writer himself with the help of colloquial speakers. The story of the Prodigal Son has been given in Grierson's L. S. I., Vol. VIII(i). I have corrected and critically edited that version. The parable of the North Wind and the Sun has been translated into the Reshí sub-dialect. Two stories ("A Sick Traveller" and "A Foolish Tailor") also appear in Dr. Jain's Ludhiani Reader and Dr. Bailey's Punjabi Phonetic Reader. A comparison of the versions will be profitable.

3. The translation of the texts is literal, each sentence being divided into breath-groups.

Specimens of Pakhri sub-dialect

PRODIGAL SON

(L. S. I., Vol. VIII, part 1, pp. 453ff.)

hikkí Jaṇe-ne~ do puttur*1* **ā^e.***2* **u^nná~***3* **vicco~ nikṛe piú-ə~ ákhiá—piú, málenə~***4* **Je^ṛá hissá má^~ ánā***5* **má^~ vaṇḍ de.***6* **piú ápṇá mál unā^~***3* **vA^ḍ dittá. thoṛe dhiáṛe***7* **Laghe***8* **tə~ nikṛá puttur***9* **hAbhá kiJh hikAṭhá kAr ki kədáí~ dúr mulxec***10* **Laggá giá.**

utthe ápṇá mál lucpuṇe*11* **-c***12* **vən~á choṛeus. Jis-vele hAbhá kiJh khá***13* **pí re^á, us mulxe***14* **-c vAḍá kál***13* **pāi giá. ti o^ muthAJ thívuṇ***15* **LAggá.**

vAt o^ us mulxe-ne~ kA^í~ ádmíe~*16* **kol LAggá giá. us usá^~ ápṇí zímí~ vic súr cərávṇe-áste***17* **mu~J dittá. usne~ dillec***18* **ánāiiá***19* **Ji ápṇá ḍhiḍh u^nná~ chillá~***20* **nál Je^ṛíá~ súr khāine āí^e, bhArá~, hor koí ádmí usá^~ kiJh nāí^iá***21* **denā. vAt JAdduṇ us dillec dhián kítá Ji māí~ḍhe piú-ne~ nāukrá~ kol bí bA^ú~ rizuk āí^, ti māí~ bhukkhá piá mArná~. māí~ uṭhuṛ***22* **ki piú kol vāí~ná~, ti usá^~ əkhesá~***23* **piú,***24* **māí~ xudá-nə~***25* **Gunā^ kítá ti to~ḍhá bí kítá, hAṇ māí~ to~ḍhá putur AkhvávṇeJogá ná^~ re^á. má^~ ápṇá hik nāukur bəṇá ki rAkh ghin.***26* **tá~ ú uṭhuṛ ki ápṇe piú kol á giá. o^ AJJe dúr í āí^iá Ji usne~ piu usá^~***27* **tAk ghiddá. usá^~ tArus***28* **á giá. bhAJ ki gAlle nál lá***29* **ghiddius ti piár dittios. putre usá^~ ákhiá.....**

pAr piú ápṇe nāukrá~ ákhiá Ji hAbhṇá~*30* **kolo~ caṅge cíṛe áṇo~ ti isá^~ pəvá^io, ti usne hAtthe -c mundrí te**

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*1*Only some Hindus say **puttər.** *2***á^e** is a Shahpuri form, not Awankari at all. *3*Grierson has confused **u^nná~** and **unā^~**, cf. the first word in his fourth line, which should be **unā^~**. *4*The oblique has always **-e** termination in Masculine. *5*Nasalization of final **[á]** in **ánā** is wrong. *6*I have not heard **de^** anywhere. *7***dihárṛe** is funny. *8***Laghe á^e** is Sháhpuri. *9***putr** is heard in Multáni. There is no final conjunct in Awan. *10***dúr mulkh LAggá geá** is too literal a translation.

*11*Double consonants in this word are imaginary. *12***vic** becomes enclitic **-c** in connected speech. *13*Nasal in **khá~** and **ká~l** is a mistake. *14***mulkh-vicc,** is too literal. We use **-e** in oblique form. *15***thívuṇ** is more common than **hovuṇ.**

*16*Omission of **-e** termination for oblique case is misleading. *17***váste** is all right as an isolated word. *18*Here he uses the oblique termination correctly. *19***áhá** is Sháhpuri ; we say **āí^iá,** and **ánā āiiá = ánāiiá.** *20***chillú~** is from Deráwáli. *21***nəhe** is never heard. *22***uṭṭhar** is a Hindu form. *23***ákhsá~** is from some neighbouring dialect (Ghebi or Poṭhohári). *24*I think it is merely a spelling mistake—in **piú, [í]** is long. *25***ná** is correct as a single word. *26*Doubling is incorrect. *27***usá^~, má^~, ká^~, tudhá^~** are pronouns in accusative and are used either by Waṇáḍhi speakers or by some Hindus in Pákhaṛ. More common are **usko, māiko, tudh ko,** etc. *28*Consonant group in **tars,** again, is impossible in Awankari. *29*The idiom is weak without **lá.** *30***sáriá~** is less common.

pāirá˜-c Jutt́i pəvá^io. nále khəvá^˜ *31* **ti xush́i kərá^˜,***32* **Ji***33* **e^ mā́i^˜ḍhá puttur mʌr giá āi^iá, hʌn̤ vʌt***34* **Jí piá. e^ vən˜á piá āi^iá, hʌn̤ lʌbh piá. vʌt o^ xush́i kʌrun̤ lʌg pāie.**

us ele*35* **usnə˜***36* **vʌḍḍá puttur zimmí˜-c āi^iá.***37* **Jis ele o^ áiá, ti ghʌre kol***38* **pāū^˜tá us gávn̤e kheḍn̤e nə˜ həváz***39* **sun̤iá˜. us hikkí nāūkre-ə˜ sʌdki puchiá Ji e^ ke gʌl e ?**

us usá^˜ ákhiá Ji to˜ḍhá bhirá á*40* **ri^á, ti to˜ḍhe píú roṭí kíṭie Ji***41* **o xāirí me^rá˜ lʌbh peá.**

o kávṛí*42* **thíá***43* **ti ʌndur nə^˜ vʌṛiá. us nə˜ pio***44* **bá^r áiá, ti usní minnʌt-muthá Ji***45* **kíṭius. us píú***46***-ə˜ ákhiá bʌ^ú˜ muddut thí˜ mā́i˜ to˜ḍhí xizmut piá kərená˜. kʌdí bí to˜ḍhí gʌl nʌ^i˜ moṛí pʌr tudh kʌddí má^˜ hik***47** **bʌkrá bí nʌ^i˜ dittá, Ji ápn̤e dostá˜ nál, xushí kʌrí˜-á.***48* **pʌr Jis ele to˜ḍhá e^ puttur áiái-e, Jis to˜ḍhá mál kʌn˜Jríá˜ te***49* **və˜Já dittá, tudh usní˜ xátrí roṭí kíṭi-e. píú usá^˜ ákhiá, puttur, tú˜ hʌr vele***50* **mā́i˜ḍhe kol rá^ná˜, ti Ji***51* **kiJh mā́iḍhe kol āi^,***52* **o^ tudhe-nə˜ āi^iá. cʌńgí e^á***53* **ʌ^í Ji ʌsí***54* **xushí kərá^˜.***55* **tú bí xush thí, kio˜***56* **Ji e^ to˜ḍhá bhirá mʌr giá āi^iá, hʌn̤ vʌt Jí piá, ti və˜Já piá āi^á, hʌn̤ lʌbh piá.**

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*31***khāiá^˜** is a loan form. *32***kʌrá˜** means 'let me do'. *33***kio˜ ki** is a loan word (urdu). *34* Doubling is incorrect.

*35***vele** and *36***ná˜** are isolated words. *37*Here **āi^iá** is also correct. Cf. **áhá,** above. *38***ghʌre kol** is here correct. *39***əváz** is a Hindu and cultured word. *40*Nasalization of **á** (come) is wrong. *41*Here **Ji** for 'because' is correct. *42***kāūṛí** is purely a Hindu form. *43***ho** is a loanword in this sense. *44***píú** is oblique form and is wrong here.

45 I have never heard the intensified word **thorá.** *46*Spelling mistake. *47*Doubling is incorrect. *48***kʌrí-á** is again a spelling mistake. *49***utte** is an isolated word, it becomes enclitic **te,** like **vic** which becomes **c** or **-ci.**

*50*It is correct, though inexplicable, that we do not see **ele** for **vele** with **hʌr.** *51***Jo** is a loanword. *52***āije** is quite wrong and never heard. *53***āi-í** is Punjabi. **āií** is a spelling mistake only. *54*Nasalization of [i] in **ʌsí** is Sháhpuri. *55***kərá˜há** is again Shahpuri. *56***kio˜ki** is a Hindi word.

in his feet a shoe get him wear. Moreover let us eat and be merry, because this son of mine had died, now again he has come to life. He had been lost, now he is found". Then they began to rejoice.

At that time his elder son was in the field. When he came and reached near the house, he heard the sound of singing and sporting. He called a servant and asked that 'What is this matter'?

He replied—"Your brother has come and your father has made a feast because he has been found safe and sound".

He became angry, and did not go in. His father came out, and made entreaties to him He said to his father—I have been serving you for a long time. Never have I disobeyed you, but you never gave me even a goat so that I could rejoice with my friends. But as soon as this son of yours has come—he, who has wasted away your property on prostitutes—you have made feast for his sake.

The father said to him, 'Son, you always live with me; and whatever is with me it has been verily yours. The only good thing was this that we should rejoice. You also be happy because your brother had died and now again he has come to life ; and he had been lost, now he is found'.

Critical notes

We find the following irregularities and mistakes in Sir George Grierson's text.

unnhá˜, they, should be **u^nná˜**
unnhá, to them, should be **uná^˜**
nʌhe, was not, should be **nāi^iá**
dihárẹ, days, should be **dhiárẹ**
uṭhər, rising, should be **uṭhəṛ**
mihrá˜, safe and sound, should be **mehrá˜**
ʌkhvávn̤e˜, to be called, should be **ʌkhvávn̤e˜**
āije, is, should be **āi^.**

Grierson has noted [ʟ] in Awankari, as in **koʟ, náʟ gʌʟe** and **koʟo˜,** but he has omitted to write retroflex [ɭ] in **veʟe, diʟe, máʟ,** etc.

Sir George remarks at page 450 that 'nearly every long vowel can optionally be nasalized'. He has been misled by such words as **ká˜l,** famine, **khá˜,** eat, and **á˜,** come, which have been wrongly transcribed. The vowels in the above are not nasalized at all in

A MUR

(Dictated by Malli—Mohammad

maĩ~ tuá~ko kʌtul ní hik gʌl suṇaĩná~. suá~e ti Jithá~e gəbhír vá^ṇ hikʌth.e thínen, uthá^í~ ní~ gʌl e. hik Jʌṇá~ lʌg.á vaĩnaĩiá. picho~ áṇ kʌṇí kʌí~ cádur usne~ mú^~je ti ghʌt dittí ti dúá nʌp geá. tríá hor áṇ nixtá. usko cə ḍhəenen. mú^~je-c pʌṇá paĩnen bhái həváz nə~ nikle. us hál pá^riá kítí pʌr e^ aĩ^e trʌkṛe. hinná~ mʌ~J məroṛ ki bhʌn sʌṭṭí. sho^de nə~ sá^ nikul geá.'

o traĩ^e usko Jáṭí ti lʌd kʌṇí bʌ^n kʌṇí (Jí~ lukṛí lədíní-e) kʌḍḍhe ti ghin-i-áe.

lá^ kʌṇí mərenes churí dhunní to~, tá~ Ji mʌcchí khá

Awankari.

The use of oblique case is confused in the text. He gives no oblique termination (i.e., **-e**) in **mál ná**, of the property, **mulkh ná**, of the country, and **ádmí kol**, with a man.

But he does use the oblique form in **ghʌre kol**, near the house, **píú ná**, of the father, **dile vicc**, in his heart.

The latter group is correct.

vele, time, **ná~**, of, **ná^~**, not, **utte**, on, **-á~**, to, **vicc**, in, **Je**, that, **te**, and, **váste**, for, etc. are correct as isolated words, but in connected speech they become enclitics, and should be transcribed as I have done.

Similarly **ánʌ**, come, and **aĩ^iá**, was, are two words, but in speech and as a compound verb, they undergo Sandhi and are spoken as **ánaĩ^iá**, used to come.

I have reasons to believe that the translator of the story was a man from Pákhaṛ. The words **hʌṇ**, now, **bí**, also, **ákhiá**, said, etc. clearly suggest it.

Moreover, Grierson has given many a double consonant in the text; e.g.,

vicc, in, **vʌtt**, again, **hikk**, one, **ghinn**, take, **tʌkk**, see, **puttre**, the son (oblique), **lʌbbh**, get, **pucchiá**, asked, **bʌkkrá**, goat, **sʌdd**, call, **bhʌJJ**, run, **gʌll**, talk, **luccpuṇe**, debauchery, etc.

It is, in fact, pákhṛí stress which the transcriber noted but over-emphasized. See the Chapter on Stress.

The following words suggest that the translator had travelled

DER

Ali—of Picnand, aged 59)

I tell you a story of a murder. On the Sohan where it meets the Gabhir stream, it is a story about that very place. A man was going. Coming from behind some one put a cloth sheet on his face and another held him. A third man also came up. They drop him down. They put dust into his mouth so that no sound may come out. He cried aloud but they were stronger. They twisted his neck and broke it. The poor one's breath came out.

Those three, carrying him on a she-camel and tying him (as wood is carried), brought him to the bank of the river.

Taking him down they stab him under his navel so that fish may

---

'abroad' or at least he had frequently come into contact with men from neighbouring tracts, especially Shahpur and Mianwali districts.

áhe, was, **minnʌt thorá**, entreaty, **aĩí**, this verily, **chillú**, husks, **puttr**, son, **tʌrs**, pity, **ákhsá~**, I will say, **khaĩiá~**, we will eat.

He does not use the word **thí**, become, which is one of the characteristic words of Lahndi dialects. This and the word **kio~ ki**, and **tʌrs** < Persian tars show that the transcriber was a literate person and his speech was not quite unaffected.

The omission of oblique form in certain words noted above further shows mixtures in his speech.

The use of **[ə]** instead of specific Awankari **[u]** in the medial position of a final syllable in the following words suggests that the translator was a Hindu. Examples—

puttər, son, **rizək**, bread, **kʌrəṇ**, doing, **ʌndər**, inside, etc.

kaṳṛí, for Awankari **kávṛí**, angry, is specifically Hindu form as observed at page 32. Hindus in Pákhaṛ still use **má^~**, me, **usá^~**, him, **unʌ́^~**, them, and **tudhá^~**, you, instead of **maĩ~ko, usko, unʌ́~ko, tudhko**, respectively. Similarly the omission of the verb **thí**, become, and the use of **ho** instead is common among literate Hindus.

Further research can fully describe the man, his position in life, his age, his connections, his real home, etc. And this I believe should be one of the ultimate objects of Linguistics. It should be possible to depict a man and his life and character from his speech.

vA˜Jus. ápo áp ʌ˜J-bá^ kʌr səṭenen. trʌńguṛ səlítá ghin kʌṇí bʌ^n kʌṇí vic pʌṛíá˜ vʌṭṭe pá kʌṇí sʌṭ ghətenen páṇie-c.

áp lʌgge áe. əṭhá^rá˜ dhiáṛiá˜ thí˜ bá^J lásh nixtí. tháṇedár áiá. lásh phʌtthí siʌí. kʌḍh kʌṇí tʌlle ghin gʌe.

trʌe Jʌṇe nʌppe gʌe. tháṇedáre hʌth-kʌṛíá˜ már ghiddíá˜. sáre kʌl cəláṇ thíen. u^nná˜-ci hik mā˜ḍhá Jəvátrá siá.

A MERCHANT'S

(Dictated by Sharif

hik sudágur siá. usnə˜ putur lā˜^ká Ji^á rā˜^ geá. Jʌduṇ nʌḍhá thí pe^á tə˜ máú ákhiá koí kár ruzgár kʌr. pā˜^lo˜ tə˜ hedh mərená re^á. əxírí mʌniá˜; shá^r lʌggá vā˜iná. vekhná, tə˜ shʌí˜ pʌíá˜ viknían pʌr is ne˙ dil koí shā˜ nə^˜ lʌggí, muṛun lʌgná tə˜ rá^e-c hik fəkír nʌpí ā˜iṭhá sʌppe nə˜ bʌccá. is mul puchiá. us ákhiá sā˜ rupʌíjá lʌgsíá.

rupʌíje ṭubbe co˜ kho^l ki dená te sʌppe nə˜ bʌccá ghʌr ghin ánа. máú suṇá˜ tə˜ hál pá^rriá kʌr ditti—bhā˜iṛiá, bʌrbád kʌr áiá˜. uJáṛ choṛiʌí.

máe, ká^lí kio˜ pā˜nní e˜—sā˜dá mághá nʌ^í˜-á˜.

ʌṭhovárí ko vʌt kʌḍh khəṛená boJhe bhʌr ki rupʌíjá˜ ne˜. bhā˜ná˜ vʌttá. əxírí vekhná tə˜ hiki Jʌṇe koí ḍá^ḍhá ríJhá˜ nə˜ tote nə˜ bʌccá. puchená, ke kímut-e. sā˜ rupʌíjá. gʌṇ ki cə dená ti totá ghin kʌṇí ghʌr lʌggá ánа.

má ʌkkí. tríe dhiáṛe billí nə˜ bʌccá ghin˙áná.

máú us ko ghʌro˜ bá^r kʌḍh choṛiá. dʌfá thí.

nʌḍhá ápṇá sʌp, totá ti billí ghiná˜ lʌggá vā˜iná. Jʌńgul bʌíábán e. sʌp hʌmsos krená—kʌ˜Jrá, mā˜ḍhiá˜ honiá˜ sʌndiá˜ tudh mulukh cə sʌṭṭá. mā˜ḍhá kʌdur nʌ^í˜-á˜ Játá.

nʌḍhá sʌpko pin˜Jre co˜ kʌḍh dená. sʌp əkhená—ʌJh vA˜J. hʌṇe sʌp ásən miluṇ. gʌrdhəhá sʌp bí ási, bʌṛi pʌshum hosus. ḍʌre˜ JhʌKe˜ nʌ^í˜. u^n əkhesun—mʌńg Jí kiJh mʌńgṇʌí˜. tú˜ ákhe˜—hik gíṭí cə de.

eat him up. They separate all his limbs. Taking a netted mat, tying it and putting rocks and stones in it, they throw him away into the water.

They themselves returned. The dead body came up after eighteen days. The police Sub-Inspector came. The corpse was stuck. Taking it out they brought it to Talagang.

The three men were caught. The police officer handcuffed them. All of them were challaned yesterday. Among them one was my son-in-law.

STORY

of Lawa, aged 43)

There was a merchant. He left a young son. When he became youth then the mother said—'Do some work or business'. First he remained obstinate. At last he agreed. He goes to a city. As he sees, then things are being sold; but to his mind nothing appealed. As he is about to return then in the way a mendicant was sitting with the young serpent held by him. He asked the price. He said—It will cost you Rs.100.

Untying rupees from his sheet he gives away, and brings the snake home. When the mother heard, she cried—'O bad one, you have ruined us. You have destroyed us'.

Mother, why are you disturbed, the bargain is not dear.

After a week again he takes out a pocketful of rupees. He kept wandering. At last he sees, then a man has a very fine young parrot—asks, what is the price? 'Hundred rupees'. Counting he gives and taking the parrot comes up home.

The mother was fed up. On the third day he brings the young of a cat.

The mother turned him out of the house. Be away.

The boy taking his snake, parrot and cat goes away. It is a lonely forest. The snake regrets—Wretched one, in my presence, you have given up your country! You have not valued me.

The boy turns the snake out of the cage. The snake says, 'Sit down. Just now serpents will come to meet. Boa serpent will also come. It will have much hair. You should not be afraid. They will say: "Ask for what you will". You may say—Give me one diamond.

sʌp ápec mille. gʌrdəhá puchiá—sudágʌr-zádiá, kiJh mʌńg.

is ákhiá—hʌbho kiJh bʌ^ú~ e~ ʌllá nə~ dittá viá. Ji denáˇ təˇ gíţí cə de.

gʌrdəhá mú^~e coˇ gíţí kʌḍh dittí. is puchiá—kí hikmut-e. us ákhiá, "Je^ŗí cíz mʌńgseˇ ú^á paīdá kʌr desí".

ghin kʌṇí ţur peá. lʌggá vaīná mʌnzəl pʌr mʌnzəl. vəkhná, hik bádshá^ ve. us hoká diváiá viá Ji Je^ŗá ádmí dəriáoˇ pár rátoˇ rát sone nəˇ bʌńglá cəŗá dee, usko ápṇí dhí víjá^ desáˇ.

is dille nál səlá^ kíti—maīˇḍhe kol gíţí e, maīˇ bí vaīnáˇ.

ḍhuk peá, əkhená—há, maīˇ cəŗá desáˇ. cʌńgá.

bʌńglá bʌṇ geá. ḍhuk peá, dhí de. bádshá^ əkhená—tudh bʌńglá təˇ bəṇáiá pʌr dəriáe ná urár pár rá^ Ji nəˇ hoiá.

nʌḍhá dhrińgí mʌnˇJí ghin ki lʌmmá paī re^á. totá billí koloˇ puchená—billie, gʌl suṇáe-áˇ. billí əkhenís—koí eJhá ádmí hove á Je^ŗá dəriáe neˇ lʌkkoˇ pul bʌ^n dee-á. sʌp phʌṇ már kʌṇí peá oiá siá, suṇ kʌṇí uţhʌŗná ti gíţí ko vəńgár kʌṇí əkhená—pul bəṇá.

uttháeˇ ke ḍhil lʌgní ʌ^í. pul bʌṇ geá. nʌḍhá lʌggá áiá bádshá^ kol—bádshá^, gʌl kʌr.

bádshá^ ákhiá—kʌdí ghoŗiáˇ nál dhʌmke nʌ^íˇ, táˇ tudh ko dhí vijá^ disá^~. xaīr Jí, killí vəhenen. pul naī^~ truţţí. dhí víjá^ ditene. Jaṇá trímət pár bʌńgle-c rá^vuṇ lʌg pʌe.

bádshəzádí nəˇ náˇ soná ráṇí aī^iá. us neˇ sone neˇ vál ʌ^e. sudágur ishkár lʌggá vanˇJe ti ú sho^dhí ám xásh hikʌllí honí ʌ^í rʌńgáˇ maī^lá~-c.

hik dhiáŗe us ákhiá, sir cúŗá dho áváˇ. dəriáe te ţur paí. sir dhoniáˇ dhoniáˇ us neˇ vál truţ vaīnen ti mʌcchí khá vaīní e.

thʌle kədáíˇ hik hor bádshá^ rá^naīiá. us mʌchíáˇ phəváíáˇ. u^náˇ nəˇ ḍhi^ḍh páŗ kʌṇí vekhnen təˇ hikkí mʌcchí coˇ sone níáˇ táráˇ níxtíáˇ. suniáre-ko vikhaīnen. us ákhiá, iJʌ^í ghʌŗun mukhí e.

bádshá^ məkáráˇ sədá ghínáˇ. hik məkár ţʌlle cə ghíní e.

Serpents met each other. The boa asked.—O son of the merchant, ask for something.

He said, 'Everything is enough given by God. If you give (at all) then give a diamond'.

The boa gave away a diamond from his mouth. He asked—What is the wise thing in it? He said—Whatever you will demand, that it will supply.

Taking it, he went off. He goes on stage by stage. He sees, there is a king. He has proclaimed that whosoever by night will build a bungalow across the river, to him I shall marry my daughter.

He thought to himself. I have a diamond. I may also go.

He goes up, and says, 'yes, I shall get it built'. 'All right'.

The bungalow was made. He goes up—'Give me your daughter'. The king says, "You have indeed made the bungalow, but across the river there is no way".

The boy taking a wrong bedstead lay down. The parrot asks the cat—Cat, please tell some story. The cat says to him if there could be such a man who from the middle (waist) of the river had built a bridge. The snake with its hood down was lying. Listening, he got up and calling up the diamond, says: Make a bridge.

What delay there could be? The bridge was made. The boy came up to the king—King, say.

The king said, "If it does not press down by horses, then we shall marry the girl with you". Well, Sir, they do tent-pegging. The bridge was not broken. They married him the girl. The man and wife began to live in the bungalow across.

The name of the princess was Sona Rani (Golden Queen). She had golden hair. The merchant would go a-hunting and that poor (girl) remained generally alone in the beautiful palaces.

One day she said, 'Let me go and wash my head and hair'. She started towards the river. While washing (her) head, her hair are torn and a fish devours them up.

Below somewhere another king was living. He had the fish entrapped. Bursting open their stomach, as they see then from inside a fish with golden fibres came out. When they show them to a goldsmith, he said, it is difficult to prepare one like these.

The king sends for witches. One witch takes up boats.

muháṇiá~ko nál cə lāiní e. vʌn~J pāū~cní e rʌńg māi^l ne~ cəpher. tʌsbí lá kʌṇí ti bhʌgve kʌpṛe pá kʌṇí vʌṛ vāiní e ʌndur. əkhení e—dhíe, māi~ko nʌ^iá~ sihátá? tāi~ḍhí másí á~. milíá~ gilíá~. us bí sociá Ji māi~ honí á~ hikallí. í másí e, ţikkí rʌ^ve.

dúe dhiáṛe puchení e məkár—dhíe, māi~ hiráṇ pʌí thiní-á~, tussá~nə~ xʌrcá kʌtho~ áná? us ákhiá, əsiḍḍe kol hik gíţi e, Je^ṛí shāi mə~gene á~ á vāiní e.

məkár táṛá~-c rʌ^í. bádshəzádí dhávuṇ gʌí tə~ í gíţi chəpá kʌṇí nʌs pʌí. muháṇiá~-ko əkhení e—ţale ţhe^lo. āi^ gʌe āū^ gʌe. vʌ~J pāū^te bádshá^ kol.

bádshá^ sárí gʌl-kʌth suṇ ki áná. soná ráṇí nál nikáˆ bənhá ki ghin vāinás.

sudágʌr ghʌr áná. vekhná,tə~ rʌn koí nʌ^í~. bhʌJJá Jí uráre kʌḍḍhe. sá^vriá~ko dʌsius u^nná~ ise ti shʌk kítá bhʌí luggá ádmí āi^iá, bhiṛe lʌṛen, már sʌţţí hosus. ḍhúḍuṇ lʌg pʌe. totá əkhená—billíe másí, māi~ko kʌḍh Ji māi~ us ní~ xʌbur ghinná~.

billí əkhení e—totiá, bádshəzádí lʌggí gʌí e. to~ḍhá dil e māi~ bí khishká~.

totá əkhená—māi~ nimuk khádá, hukum ʌllá ná hʌṇe á rá^sá~. lʌggá vāi~ná. ʌllá ní~ ás cə krená. dígrí ghʌr muṛ áná. dúe dhiáṛe suhele ále páse, tríe dhiáṛe ubhərne páse, cāūthe dhiáṛe lá^ne lʌggá vāiná. vekhná tə~ hikkí dhreká~ ti tote āiţhe oen. bádshəzádí uná^~ cúrí pʌ^í pāiní e. í əkhená—əsiḍḍe mulkhe cogá tə~ ám e. rá^ne tote khávuṇ lʌg pʌe. í hʌţ āiţhá.

bádshəzádí golí ko əkhení e—neṛe kʌr kʌṇí pá. hí sho^dá bimár e. totá vʌt ví nʌ^í~ khāiná~. bádshəzádí tote ko sihấṇ vāiní e. golí ko kʌm mu~J dení e. totá us ne~ hʌtthe ti áṇ lʌgná. bádshəzádí usá^~ sárí gʌl suṇāiní e. suṇ kʌṇí, uḍur pāūná.

hidhre billí əkhení e—ʌJ tə~ cir thí geá—ʌgge visāi^ná ri^á. ʌJ shāitná~ nʌ^í~ áná~.

iţṇe-c totá á geá. əkhená—ḍhúḍi áiá~ bádshəzádí-ko. billíe másí, gíţi tú~ ḍhúḍ. billí

She takes along the boatsmen. She, going, reaches about the (same) fine palace. Setting up beads and wearing ochre-red clothes (she) enters inside. Se says, 'Daughter, have you not recognized me? I am your aunt'. They met each other. She (princess) also thought—I remain alone; she is an aunt—let her stay.

The next day the witch asks, 'Daughter, I am getting astonished, where do you get expenditure from?' She said, 'We have a diamond stone. Whatever we demand it comes'.

The witch remained in watch. When the princess went to bathe then she stealing the stone ran away. She tells the boatsmen to start their boats (logs). Here they went, there they went. They (at last) reached (their) king.

The king, hearing all the story, comes. Marrying Sona Rani, he takes her away.

The merchant comes home. As he sees then the wife is nowhere there. He ran, Sir, to this bank. He told his parents-in-law. They suspected him alone that he was an irresponsible (lonely) man, they quarrelled and that he might have killed her. They started searching. The parrot says—'Aunt cat, take me out, so that I may have tidings about her'.

The cat says—Parrot, the princess has gone. You wish I also may slip away.

The parrot says—I have eaten salt (here); God willing, I shall come back just now. He goes away. He puts his hope on God. In the evening he returns home. Next day he goes away to the north, on the third day to the east, on the fourth day to the west. As he sees then on a Bakayan tree parrots are sitting. The princess is putting pieced bread to them. He says: In our country food is, indeed, common. The rest of the parrots began to eat. He sat aloof.

The princess says to the maid—Put, taking it near. This poor one is ill. The parrot even then does not eat. The princess recognizes the parrot. She sends the maid for some task. The parrot comes up on her hand. The princess tells him the whole story. Hearing, he starts flying.

This side the cat says—Today, indeed, it is late. Formerly he had been creating confidence. Today, probably, he is not coming.

In the meanwhile the parrot came up. He says—I have searched the princess. Aunt cat, the diamond you may search. The cat

ti totá bádshəzádí ne~ píú ko ghɪn kʌɳí ṭur pāīnen. billí shá^re-c vʌɾní e. hor billíá~ tʌk kʌɳí əkheníán—ní~ tú~ tə~ bhukhá~ nál moí vʌí e~. ithée~ ṭik pāū, tudhko rʌJsʌ^íá~. cú^já~ ná~ vijá^ ve.

is billí ko bhʌllá dá lʌdh:á. nʌp vāīní e vijí~duɾ ko. əkhení-e chuɾesá~ tá~ Ji coɾí thí vʌí gíṭí ḍhúḍ dee~ tə~.

cú^á vāīná bádshá^ ne~ ghʌr. lʌghniá~ lʌghniá~ púchul mʌ~ḍ dená məkárá~ ní násá~-c. buḍḍhí gíṭí sʌghe-c rəkhení ʌ^í. khʌgní-e tə~ gíṭí bá^r. cú^á Jhʌṭ gíṭí ko mú^je~-c cə pāīná ti áɳ dená billí ko.

billí bhʌJní~ gʌí bádshá^ kol. sudágur áiá. gíṭí ghin kʌɳí vāīná usse bádshá^ ne~ ghʌr. əkhená, tú~ māī~ḍhá cor e~. māī~ḍhí rʌn ghin áiá~.

bádshá^ gʌl í nə~ pʌrtí. nʌḍhe gíṭí ko vʌńgárius. Jo Jəhán nə~ sʌp-e hikʌṭṭhá áɳ thíá.

lok ḍʌre. u^ná~ bádshá^ ko ákh kʌɳí rʌn muɾvá dittí.

SOME USEFUL

(Collected by the author from

1. turvetí ko sədáo.
2. shá^re-ne~ ás cəpher cʌrux cə cáɾo
3. māī~ko dəsxʌt kʌrne thívuɳ tə~ tudh-ne kol á vāīsá~.
4. kʌde to~ḍhí mʌrzí hove tə~ rul kʌr desá~.
5. hin ákhnen—kəháɳí ghʌt.
6. ʌggo~ vāīná nə~ tə~ kuttá milnás.
7. vá vʌrJáɳ-í luɾí nə^~ kʌppe~.
8. hí bí tudh māī~ ne~ ṭá^ɳe ti cʌɾ geá.
9. náí pāīɳí mʌɳ ghínen, luhár bumbí mʌɳ ghínen.
10. hí ḍhəḍhúmrí tə~ kʌ^í~ kárí ní nʌ^í~.
11. hʌle hʌle ʌsá~ ko ber Jhu~ɾená re^á.
12. kʌdhre koí fəkír āīṭhá ?
13. pávlí ákhná pʌlviáɳí ko, páɳ tʌttí kʌr.
14. bāīṭhək uṭhək bʌɳí oí siʌí.
15. Jí~ ákhná in~Je kʌro.
16. tukká~ már ki usko bhəlāīnen.

and the parrot taking the princess's father, start along. The cat enters the town. Other cats, seeing her, say, "O, you are dead by hunger, indeed. Stay here; we shall feed you fully. There is a marriage of the rats".

This cat found a fine opportunity. She catches hold of the bridegroom. She says—I shall let you go only when you find out for me the stolen stone.

The rat goes to the king's house. While passing, he thrusts his tail into the nostrils of the witch. The old hag used to keep the stone in her throat. As she coughs, the stone (comes) out. The rat at once puts the stone in his mouth, and brings it to the cat.

The cat went running to the king. The merchant came. Taking the stone he goes to that very king's house. He says—You are my thief. You have brought my wife.

The king did not reply to it. The youth shouted for his stone. Snakes of all the world assembled there.

The people were afraid. They, asking the king, had the wife returned.

SENTENCES

various villages in Pákhaɾ)

1. Send for the astrologer.
2. Set a line round about the village.
3. If I be asked to sign, then I shall come up to you.
4. If you wish then I shall make plenty (of it).
5. These (people) say, tell (place) a story.
6. As he goes along then a dog meets him.
7. Beware, do not cut the wood.
8. He also has been easily persuaded by all (you and me).
9. The barbers take 3/4 seer per maund, blacksmiths take one seer per maund.
10. This hide is indeed good-for-nothing.
11. Slowly and slowly he kept shaking down jujubes for us.
12. Is any mendicant sitting anywhere ?
13. The weaver says to his wife, heat the starch.
14. They were on sitting terms.
15. Do as he says.
16. They dissuade him by random talk,

17. ɔsiḍḍí məneso tə˜ tusiḍḍí bí mʌnsá^˜.
18. ghʌssá kərení ʌ^í do kʌdum tə˜ muṛ kʌṇí təkení ʌ^í.
19. choṭí āiṭhí tə˜ tʌlí ní˜ ṭeká˜ ti undṛí.

20. dʌs oe ḍáci áliá to˜ḍhá márá kí curáiá ne˜.
21. cávəl ápṇe káṇ pʌen. áp nə^˜ cʌṛsá^˜ tussí ghin vʌ˜Jo.
22. ḍákdʌr utto˜ tʌllo˜ chuṭ geá.
23. Jʌṇí ʌpṇá˜ ʌdhʌṛvʌn˜Je cádur kʌr ki khəlo rá^ní-e.
24. pʌn˜J che˜ cəhá gu^n ki, roṭí páṇí khá ki, pʌ˜ḍ bʌ^n ki khishkʌlí thíi.
25. kukiṛ níá˜ á˜drá˜ ḍo ki i^nná˙-c lʌ^ú pá rʌkkhe˜.
26. mʌṭhá, vʌt məraī^ cho^r ko.
27. uthée˜ vʌ˜J ʌJh.
28. maī˜ áná˜ pá siʌí.
29. Já˜ pʌ^ṛun vaīná, shá^í víṭ áná.
30. fuuzá˜ co˜ cú^ṛá cuṇ ghíná.
31. maī˜ko peke mun˜Je˜ tá˜.....
32. udhre geá nə˜ tə˜ siáṇ ghiddás.
33. hʌṇ ákhe˜ tə˜ məraú˜.
34. maī˜ cəhená˜ Ji nʌvvá˜ ne˜ sir kʌp deo.
35. bʌrá pʌkkhí vekhniá˜ sár faīl kite^ne.
36. hillú utto˜ chʌṭ márí.
37. maī˜ Jutti vikhaīnío˜ se.
38. maī˜ḍhí gá˜í-ko bí bhíṛí khʌṛ.
39. do^á˜ ápe-c milut milá kíti.
40. maī˜ tə˜ ná^s vaīná˜.
41. Jí˜ troṛʌí i˜Je Juṛá áṇ pʌttí nál.
42. mo^rá˜ bádshəzádí ubrí.
43. sáluṇ cʌ˜gá riddhá oiá ḍá^ḍhí ríJhá˜ınə˜.
44. khuḍ khəṭenen bháí gíṭá vic paīne-ə˜.
45. ní˜ bebe márí, túá˜ cə liáṭá lá.

17. If you accept our (way), then we shall accept yours, too.
18. As she rushed two steps, then turning she would look.
19. When she sat to make water, then she got up supporting herself on the palm (of her hand).
20. Tell, O camel-man, what have they stolen yours ?
21. Rice is lying for ourselves. We shall not cook, you may take (it) away.
22. The doctor was discharged.
23. The wife, winding a sheet round her loins, keeps standing.
24. Kneading five or six bushelfuls, eating meals, tying a pack, she started off.
25. Pressing the entrails of a hen, put blood in them.
26. Stay, lest you may beat the boy.
27. Go and sit there.
28. I was coming up.
29. Whenever he goes to study, he returns spilling ink.
30. He selects a sweeper from the army.
31. You send me to my parents only then.....
32. He went there, then he recognized him.
33. If you say now, I may beat you.
34. I want that, cut off the heads of all the nine.
35. As soon as they saw the Bara bird, they fired at him.
36. The kite pounced from above.
37. I (fem.) was showing the shoe.
38. Drive my cow also.
39. Both met one another.
40. I indeed was not to go.
41. As you have broken it, so you may get it joined honourably.
42. First the princess spoke.
43. The vegetable is cooked well, very fine.
44. They dig a hole that we may put a pebble in it.
45. O sister, you may put the plaster.

Specimens of Wanadhi sub-dialect

STORY OF A

kitháĩ nəvekle koṭhe-c hik admi̇́ rāū^nāi̇̄á. us kol hik musháfur áiá. us musháfre kolõ puchiá bhai̇́ tú̃ kitthe Jullá̃.

pəredesi̇́e ákhiá—mai̇̄̃ ḍák'dar kol vāi̇̄ná̃ piá̃. us vat pərdesi̇́e-á̃ roṭi̇́ ti sadiá ti cár roṭi̇́á̃ us agge rakh dittiá̃. áp kuJh lávuṇ áṇun laggá geá.

us nẽ səlúṇá əṇeniá̃ əṇeniá̃ pərdesi̇́ cá^re roṭi̇́á̃ khá giá.

vat hor roṭi̇́á̃ ghinuṇ geá. tə̃ icrá̃ musháfre sárá lávuṇ khá choṛiá. ú vicárá cár roṭi̇́á̃ dhar ki vat hor sálaṇ áṇun giá.

Jadduṇ muṛ ki áiá tə̃ is ja^ddhi̇́ nẽ cár roṭi̇́á̃ vi̇́ muká choṛi̇́á̃.

hĩJe ár kreniá̃ kreniá̃ ú so^lá̃ roṭi̇́á̃ kap geá.

chekṛõ ghare ále khá^ṛá choṛ dittá.

vat uskolõ puchiá bhai̇́ tú kāi̇̄̃ máriá̃ ḍákdar kol Jullá̃.

us ákhiá mai̇̄̃ koi̇́ házmẽ ni̇́̃ dəvá ghinuṇ vāi̇̄ná̃ Ji bhukh shukh na^i̇́̃ lagni̇́ ukki.

o^ ákhuṇ laggá—val ho ki prattiõ tə̃ me^rbángi̇́ kar ki his rá^õ nə̃ lagghẽ.

STORY OF A

hik pa^ṛá likkhá darzi̇́ ka^i̇́̃ giráẽ-c apṇá kam kár kərená rá^nāi̇̄á. hik dhiáṛe giráẽ nə̃ namurdár colá sivávuṇ áiá. darzi̇́e cilum nəpáius bhai̇́ do trāi̇̄ kash lá ghin, ti vat ákhius—cilum chikeniá̃ má^ koi̇́ gal kath vi̇́ suṇá.

us ákhiá—"xəlifá Ji, mai̇̄̃ hik ba^ú̃ əJāi̇̄b gal hiki̇́ kitábá̃-c ka^l pa^ṛi̇́ e. dilliõ kitáb mańgvái a^i̇́ ti usic likhkhá oiá bhai̇́ Jisnə̃ sir nikká ti dá^ṛi̇́ ləmeri̇́ hove ú Jhallá honá. pattá na^i̇́̃ sac e ki kúṛ".

darzi̇́ ákhiá—na^i̇́̃ Ji, i̇́ gal tə̃ koi̇́ na^i̇́̃ nə̃ mənená. xāi̇̄r kuJh cir bāi̇̄^ki namurdár ápṇe ghar ṭur geá.

SICK TRAVELLER

In some place in a lonely house there lived a man. To him came a traveller. He asked the traveller, "Where are you going?"

The traveller said, "I am going to a doctor." He then invited the traveller to dinner and placed four loaves before him and himself went out to fetch some vegetable (i.e. curry).

Before he returned with curry the traveller had eaten up all the four loaves.

He then went to fetch more loaves. Then in the meantime the traveller ate up the whole curry. The poor fellow placing the four loaves again went out for more curry.

When he came back he found that the knave even these four loaves also had made away with.

Acting thus he ate up sixteen loaves.

At last the owner of the house gave up thought of him.

Then he enquired from him: "For what reason are you going to the physician?"

He replied, "Some medicine for digestion I am going to get, for I do not have appetite at all."

He began to say, "When you come after recovery, do not please pass by this way."

FOOLISH TAILOR

A literate tailor in some village used to do his business. One day to him the headman of the village came to get his shirt sewn. The tailor handed him the pipe so that he might have two three puffs and then said, "While you smoke you may also tell me some story."

He replied—O worthy Khalifa, a very strange thing I read in a book yesterday. I had sent for the book from Delhi, and it is written therein that whosoever has a small head and a long beard is always foolish. I do not know whether it is true or not.

The tailor replied, 'No Sir, this thing indeed is no one going to believe.' Well, after sitting for a short time the headman went home.

huṇ darzí socí paĩ giá. ʌslo˜ usá^˜ ise gʌllá^ nə˜ Jhorá aĩ^iá bhái maĩ˜ḍhí dá^ṛí lʌmmí e ti sir nik:á.

ákhuṇ laggá—ke kʌrá˜? maĩ˜ḍhá sir tə˜ vʌḍá thíná nʌ^í˜. há˜ hik gʌl thí hʌgní-e Ji maĩ˜ dá^ṛí-á˜ kutər kʌtur ki nikerá kar hʌgná˜.

ise socá˜-c ú kaĩ˜cí ḍhúḍhuṇ lʌg piá. kədáĩ˜ lʌdh:í ná^˜. əxírí ʌkkí ləcárí ʌmur usá^˜ hik hor gʌl suJhí. dívá bál ki dá^ṛí-ne˜ neṛe á˜dius. khʌbbe hʌtthe nál dá^ṛí nʌp rʌkhíus ti sʌJJe nál dívá. usnə˜ mʌtbul aĩ^iá Ji dá^ṛí zʌrək nikerí thí vʌ˜Je.

lʌgniá˜ sár ʌg Jhʌṭ hʌtthe toṛí áṇ pʌn^˜tí. hʌth tə˜ bəcá ghidius pʌr dá^ṛí choṛ dittíus. sárí dá^ṛí bʌl gʌí. bʌ^ú˜ sho^rá piá ti socuṇ lʌggá bhái sʌccí muccí Jo kuJh kitábá˜-ci likhá oiá aĩ^iá sʌc í aĩ^iá. is-ce tə˜ koí kúṛ nʌ^í˜ Ji maĩ˜ vʌḍḍá Jhəlʌt máriá.

AGRICULTURAL

(Told by Nura, a peasant gardener, aged 29, of Talagang)

Jis zimmí˜-c hove bʌrvá, us zimmí˜-c Jitṇí˜ verí vá^o bʌrvá nʌ^í˜ pəṭiná. krá^ máre ti vʌt vá^e, vʌt krá^ máre ti vá^e; nʌ^í˜ tə˜ bʌrvá vʌt sává thí vaĩná. bʌrvá fʌsul nʌ^í˜ hoṇ dená. fʌsul talle raĩ^ vaĩní-e, ti bʌrvá utte cʌ^ṛ ánά. eJhí zimmí˜-c kʌṇuk nʌ^í˜ thíní.

paĩ^lo˜ vá^e vʌt do^re, vʌt do^re, vʌt tre^re. Jitṇá hʌl vaĩ^sí itṇá í cʌṅgá. káli zimmí˜ Jitṇí vá^ije, itṇí zore-c ání e. hʌl mʌṭhá vá^vṇá cá^íná. sinní˜, bevʌtrí nʌ^í˜ vá^vṇí cá^íní, nʌ^í˜ tə˜ Jʌk thí vaĩní e. utto˜ aĩcí ʌdhí aĩ^cí suk:í hove. Já˜ aí˜ deije, vʌtur ní˜ sí˜ deije.

khú^je ní zimmí thoṛí thoṛí ciṭkí hove tə˜ xaĩr me^r e.

hʌl trʌkṛá hove. hʌl kʌ^ve nə˜ hoṇá cəhíná ti kuṛ phulá^e já ṭá^lí nə˜. kikre nə˜ kuṛ ví márá nʌ^í˜ honá. killá toṛe kʌ^í˜ shʌi nə˜ hove. pə˜Jáli dhreká˜ ní hove, Ji o^ lʌn^ki honí-e ti ḍʌṅgre-á˜ mukhá nʌ^í˜ thívuṇ denί.

Now the tailor fell in thoughts. In reality he was much concerned at this that his beard was long and the head small.

He thought: What should I do? My head indeed cannot become bigger. Of course, one thing is possible that I can make my beard shorter by trimming.

In this very thought he began to look for the scissors. It could not be found anywhere. At last being tired, helplessly he thought of another remedy. Lighting a lamp he took it close to his beard. He siezed his beard with his left hand and the lamp with his right hand. His object was that the beard may become a little shorter.

As soon as the beard caught fire, it reached quickly upto the hand. He, forsooth, saved his hand, but let hold of the beard. The whole of the beard was burnt. He felt greatly ashamed and began to think that really what was written in the book was quite correct. There is no doubt in it that I have committed a great folly.

PROCESS

aged 29, of Talagang)

The field in which there is *Barva* grass, in that field even if you plough many times, *Barva* is not uprooted. He should ply his leveller and then plough, then level and plough; or else *Barva* again becomes green. It does not let the crop grow. The crop is subdued by it, and *Barva* pervades it. In such a land, wheat does not grow.

First he should plough, then replough, then for the third time. The more he ploughs, the better. As much you plough a black field, so much does it come to power. Ploughing should be done slowly. Wet or unmoist (land) should not be tilled, or else it becomes stiff. It should be dry an inch or so at the surface. Whenever cultivation is to be done, it should be done in (proper) moisture.

If the land (irrigated) by well is a little dry, then it is all right, (there is no harm).

The plough should be strong. It should be made of *kaka* wood, (and) the body of acacia modesta or *Shisham*. Of *Kikkar*, too, the body is not bad. The peg may be (made) of any thing. The yoke may be of *Bakayan* (wood), because that is light and to the cattle it does not let trouble.

hʌl vá^vŋe-áste sʌrghí elá so^ṇá honá, nʌ^í~ tə~ dhiáṛí-ci dhup cʌ^ṛ ání-e.

hʌl vá^ ki mʌJ məríná. is nál bhe~ḍ bhʌJ vāinen. mʌJ már ki vʌt vá^e tə~ hʌḍḍo~ cʌńgá.

ʌṭhve~ ḍá^ve~ dhiáṛe zimmí~-ə~ vekhná rʌ^ve Ji lʌg nə~ vʌ~Je.

kuṛe-ə~ morí kráe. kuṛe ci náli phəsá ki chik ki kille nál bʌ^n choṛe. gʌḍṇá shuru kʌr dee. sáríá oṛá~-c hikká Ji^á bí~ páe. muṭh ghuṭ ki rəkkíní-e, Ji dáṇe hik-sá^re pāinen.

Ji gʌḍí oí kʌṇək ṭhúṭhí thí vʌ~Je tə~ hʌle nál thigṛí vʌl ki ti vʌt vá^vŋá cəhíná, tá~ Ji zimmí~ polí thí vʌ~Je. nʌ^í~ tə~ kʌṇək nʌ^í~ Jʌmní.

kʌṇək cheá~ sʌttá~ məhíniá~ pʌk vāi~ní-e, ti mə~gál mʌńg ki kʌp ghiJíní-e.

siṛíá~ use vele nə^~ láe. pʌchá~ vele láe, nʌ~í^ tə~ kʌṇək gʌ^mur vāi~ní-e. siṛíá~ khʌlíá~ ləvíníán, Ji mí^~ pāi vʌ~Je tə~ dáṇá xráb thí vāiná.

kʌṇək suk vʌ~Je tə~ khláṛe ti ḍhuvíní-e. suká ki vickár ɒʌsse ləvínen. Jis dhiáṛe gá^ṇí hos, utto~ gʌḍíá~ lá^-lá^ ki mátər bəṇáe.

pāi^lí mátər gá^í vʌ~Je tə~ usá^~ pʌrət sʌṭṭe. vʌt hor rá^niá~ gʌḍíá~ khol khol ki māiṛiá~ tʌlle sʌṭṭí vʌ~Je.

gá^ gú^ ki tre~gle nál dhaṛ bəṇíní-e. vʌt sáre khláṛe ti má~Já məríná. váú-nə~ rɜ̄~ tʌk ki dhaṛ vʌsṇí shurú kʌr dee.

vʌt dáṇiá~ ti sāi~ḍ mární cá^íní-e. ghuṇḍíá~ rol rol ki kuṛíá~ ḍʌ^mṇí nál kuṭen, vʌs-ke vʌkhrí ḍherí lāin, Ji us ci Jɜ̄~ rʌlle honen.

kədáí~ kədáí~ chʌJJá~ nál chʌ~ḍ ki miṭṭí gʌṭṭá kʌḍh ghínen. nikke roṛe hʌtthá~ nál phərol phərál ki kəḍhenen, ti hʌcchí pucchí kʌr ki chaṭṭá~ guṇíá~-ci pāinen.

For ploughing early dawn is the fine time, otherwise in the day-time the Sun comes up.

After ploughing, a leveller is plied. By this, lumps (of earth) are broken. After ploughing if he may plough again, then it is still better.

On the 8th or 10th day he should keep visiting the field to see that it is not crusted.

He may get the body bored. In the body, a pipe he should fix and tightly bind down with the peg. He may start sowing seed. In all the furrows he should sow evenly. Hand-fist is kept tight so that grains fall evenly.

If sown wheat becomes unable to grow (through crust-formation) then tying a rag with the plough, ploughing should be done again, so that the field becomes soft. Or else, wheat does not grow.

Wheat ripens after six or seven months; and calling aid, it is reaped.

Sheaves he should not arrange then. He may do that in the evening, otherwise wheat gets sweatened. Sheaves are arranged perpendicularly; because (otherwise) if it rains, grain is spoilt.

When wheat is dried up then it is carried to the barn. After drying it, sheaves are piled up in the middle on the day when he has to thrash it, taking the sheaves off the piles, he should make a circle (arrange them in a circle).

When the first circle is thrashed then he should turn it upside down. Then untying other sheaves, he should throw them under the thrashing weights.

After thrashing it well, a heap is made with a pitchfork. Then on the whole barn, cleaning is done. According to the direction of the wind the heap you may begin to winnow.

Then on the grains thorny thrashes should be used. After sorting out grain-stacks women should beat them with staff. After winnowing they should make a separate pile, because barleys are mixed in it.

At some places they take out dirt and pebbles after winnowing with a winnowing fan. Small pebbles they take out with hands after sorting them out, and (thus) cleaning it (wheat) up they put it in their double-sacks or (single) sacks.

UNFORTUNATE

(Dictated by Malli, aged

hik ãĩ^iá bádshá^. usnía~ ʌ^iá~ do~ dhía~. məsiti Ji pʌ^ṛun vʌ~Jun, tə~ mãĩli horná~ ákhe—kʌrmá~ álio, pʌ^ro. uná^~ ákhe—be-kʌrmio, pʌ^ṛo.

koi dhiáṛá Ji lʌghiá tə~ unhá~di má mʌr gʌi. piú hor viJá^ kʌr ghiddá, mətrei má ái. ú áp tə~ vʌngi vʌngi ne~ kháṇe pəká ki kháe, ti Játkía~ cháṇ pəká ki khəváe.

pʌr bádshəzádía~ ʌ^iá~ siáṇia~. roz vʌ~Jʌn máú ni~ kʌbrá~ ti. ro piṭ ki utthe i dhiáṛ ləghãĩn. utthe ãĩ^iá meve nə~ hik búṭá. mevá kho^ ki khãĩn.

mətrei tʌkiá bhái mãĩ~ iná^~ cháṇ deni á~. vʌt vi rʌttía~ lál thinía~ vãĩnián. gʌi ke ve. us muttá ápṇi billi á~. ú^bi bádshəzádía~ ne~ picche picche ṭurṛpʌ^i. utthe mevá khãĩniá~ nikki-á~ Ji tʌrus áiá us do~ dáṇe billi-á~ cə páe. billi səbhál ki ghʌr ghin ái. áṇ ki ráṇi ni Jholi-c páius.

ráṇi usse vele ḍhiḍ piṛá~ nə~ bhəlává~ kʌr ki pãĩ rʌ^i. bádshá^ Ji ána tə~ puchná—ki vá? ákhni e—gustáná~ to~ mevá mə~gá ki khá^dá ti piṛ pãĩ gʌi e. tú~ mãĩ~ḍhi sãũ~kṇi ni~ kʌbrá~ to~ ú meve nə~ búṭá pəṭá sʌṭ.

bádshá^ pəṭá sʌṭiá.

hin~Je kreniá~ kreniá~ koi dhiáṛá Ji lʌghiá, bádshəzádía~ gustáne álí məsitá~ vic hik cúri nə~ kəṭorá ruzíná ḍhəi vʌ~Je, khãĩn ti khá ki ghʌr muṛ ãũn.

vʌt ráṇi kreni-e—i tə~ ḍá^ḍia~ ṭhu^lía~ thinía~ vãĩnián. billi-á~ mutius. nikki tʌkiá bhái ghʌṛi ghʌṛi billi áṇ bá^ni-e us ákhiá—isá^~ vi hik bhorák pəvá^~.

vʌḍi mo^ro~ tə~ hoṛiá bhʌi ʌgge Jo sáḍe nál kitis ú^á i bʌ^ú~ e. pʌr vʌt us do~ girá^ia~ pá i dittía~. billi ráṇi ne~ pʌllec áṇ páiá~.

bádshá^ áiá tə~ ráṇi mʌkur már ki pãĩ rʌ^i. badshá puchiá—dushməṇe ke ve. ákhius sir dukhná. "kio~?" i^nná~ dhía~ ḍá^ḍá əkáiá. iná^~ ghʌro~ kʌḍh de.

bádsha^ dhía~ kʌpṛe cíṛe dhoṇ ghin giá. utthe vʌ~J ki

PRINCESSES

52 years, of Jhatla)

There was a king. His were two daughters. As they would go to the mosque for reading, then the priest would say to others: Fortunate girls, read. To them he would say—Unfortunate ones, read.

As some days passed, then their mother died. The father had another marriage. Step-mother came. She herself, indeed, cooking dishes of various kinds would eat, and to the girls gave cooked husk to eat.

But the princesses were wise. Daily they would go to the mother's grave. Weeping and mourning there they would pass the day. There was a fruit-tree. Plucking fruit they would eat.

The step-mother saw (thought) that "I give them husk. Even then they are growing red. What is the matter"? She sent her cat. It also went on behind the princesses. There, while eating fruit the younger one had pity and she put two pieces to the cat. The cat with care brought them home. Coming, it put them into the lap of the queen.

The queen at that very time, pretending stomach-ache lay down. (When) the king comes, then he asks, "What is (wrong) with you?" She says—From graveyard sending for a fruit I ate and pain has arisen. You from my co-wife's grave that fruit-tree get uprooted.

The king had it uprooted.

Doing like this (in this way) as some days passed the princesses in the mosque a bowlful of bread-pieces daily would obtain; they would eat and eating return home.

Then the queen so does (think)—These indeed are growing very fat. She sent the cat. The younger (princess) saw that again and again the cat comes and sits. She said: "Let us put just a piece to it also."

The elder of course first forbade that what it did with us before that is much. But again she did put two morsels. The cat brought them and put them into the scarf of the queen.

(When) the king came, then the queen pretending lay down. The king asked—"By enemy, what is (the wrong)?" She said, "There is headache." "Why?" "These daughters have troubled me much. Turn them out of the house."

The king took with him the daughters to wash clothes. Going

ákhius maĩ dhosá kʌpṛe ti hinná ḍhiṅgriá ti khilresá. sáre dho ki Jis vele samresá, tə tussí á vən Jaĩ^. icrá vʌ Jo kheḍo kuddo. bálṇe Joge go^e cuṇo, nʌ^í tə aĩ^ nál Jhárṛiá ne vʌ J ki ber sher kháo.

Játkiá lʌggiá gʌiá. kʌde kədáí təkeniá rʌ^iá bhʌí bábá geá tə nʌ^í, ciṛe khilre paĩen; hʌllá itthe í hosí.

hənerá Ji pāṇ lʌggá, tə u^nná ákhiá—bháí və Já, piú-á əkhá Ji ghʌr Julá, bʌ^nní ti vaĩnián tə utthe koí ví nʌ^í. huṇ ke kʌrʌn? ¦kidde vʌ Jʌn. ro piṭ ki cup kʌr rʌ^iá. rát khʌpniá kriJhniá lʌghí; fʌzrí ele uṭh ki ṭur pʌiá. vaĩniá vaĩniá thʌk pʌiá. nále bhukhá cáiá oiá aĩ^iá. təkenián tə nál í thoṛe Je^e faĩ sle ti dhú piá dhukhná. vʌ J ʌpṛiá. təkenián Ji bhaĩṛí Je^í Jhuggí e ti vic hik buḍḍhí baĩṭhí e. iná tʌk ki buḍhí hʌssí ví ti roí ví.

í^nná puchiá—máe e^ kí? vʌḍkí ákhiá—hʌssí tá vá Ji kitṇe vʌ^riá to itthe ái-á ti huṇ ádmí nə mú ḍiṭṭhá. khush-á. pʌr roí tá vá Ji huṇe itthe deo ásí ti tusá dú^á khá vaĩsí.

u^nná ákhiá—máe, huṇ vʌt dʌs, ke sútur krá—kíkuṇ bəcá thíve. us ákhiá—deo ásí tə ʌg bál ki tele nə kṛá^ taĩsí. do traĩ vár bhə vá ki kʌlkəṇe telec tusá sʌṭ desí. pʌr tussí əkhaĩ^—əsá Jác nʌ^í; tú paĩ^lo bhaĩ ki dʌs. ú bhʌ ve tə dhikká divaĩ^; ti hor ke.

in Je thíá. deo áiá, əkhená—ádəm bo, ádəm bo. vʌḍkí ákhiá—itthe tə koí nʌ^í, maĩ í á. us ákhiá—nʌ^í.

xaĩr Jí, bú^á lá^ ki ʌ dur vʌṛná tə təkená səkárí picche do^e chʌpiá baĩṭhián. dhrúk ki bá^r kʌḍh ə ṛená. bádshə-zádíá dá láiá—deo-á dhikká de ki sáṛ ditte^one.

huṇ tə khul thí pʌí. ʌ dur bá^r bhāṇniá rʌ^iá. əgá vaĩnián tə guṭṭhá-c hik ghuruṇ təke^one. us co lʌ^gh ki vaĩnián tə hik dʌrvázá. ták khol ki tʌlle hur vaĩnián. ke təkenián Ji hik

there he said to them- I shall wash clothes and spread them on these hedges. When I shall collect all after washing, then you may come. Meanwhile go and play and jump about. Collect dung-cakes for fuel, or here there are shrubs, go and eat jujube fruit, etc.

The girls went away. Sometimes they kept looking whether papa had gone or not; clothes are still spread, therefore he should be here somewhere.

When it was going to be dark, they said—Well let us go. Let us tell father to go home. As they go to the tank, then there is no one. What should they do now? Where should they go? After weeping, crying, they kept silent. Night passed fretting foaming; At morning time getting up they started. While going, they were tired. Moreover they had been upset by hunger. As they see then nearby at a short distance smoke was rising (lit. smouldering). They approached. They see that it is a sort of miserable hut and inside is sitting an old woman. Seeing them the old woman smiled as well as wept.

They asked—Mother, what is it? (Why so?). The old hag said—Laughed I for this that I have been here for many years, but now I have seen a human face. I am happy. But wept I for this that just now a demon would come and eat you up both.

They said—Mother, now say, what arrangement should we make? (What should we do?). How can there be safety? She replied—(When) the demon will come, then burning fire he will heat an oil-boiler. Waving you about two three times he will throw you into the boiling oil. But you should say: "We do not know the method, you first move about and demonstrate." As he moves, you may push him in. And what else?

Thus it happened. The giant came and said he—Human smell, human smell. The old woman said—There is none else here; only I am (here). He said, "No, (There is some one)."

Well, Sir, as he opens the door and enters, then he sees; both are hiding behind a granary. He dragging them, brings them out. The princesses used that trick. Pushing the giant in, they burnt him.

Now, indeed, there was every freedom. Inside and outside they loitered about. As they proceed forward they saw a hole in a corner. Passing through it, as they go, there is a door-way. Opening the door they get downstairs. What they see is that there is a

ádmi˜ e, súiá˜ nál pəroiá piá. do^e˜ kʌḍhuṇ lʌg pāīnián. vʌḍḍi thʌkki thi pʌi ti choṛ cháṛ ki saīlá˜ ti khishuk gʌi. nikki cuṇeṇi rʌ^i. Je^ṛe vele sáriá˜ súiá˜ kʌḍhiá˜ gʌiá˜ tə˜ admi-ə˜ hosh ái.

us nikki-á˜ dʌsiá bhái māī˜ hin˜J hin˜J phʌs giá˜ ti deo māī˜ḍhe Jussec súiá˜ pəro dittián. bádshá^ xush ho ki usá^˜ ráṇi bəṇá ghiddá.

itṇec vʌḍḍi hbāīṇ muṛ ki ái. us usá^˜ goli bəṇá ghiddá.

sárá mál mʌttá ghin ki ṭur pāie.

A MURDERER

(Dictated by Nabbi of

əsáḍe girá˜e-nə˜ hik vʌḍḍá Jábur Jʌṇá, āī^iá, uccá lʌmmá˜ gʌbhrú Juán. vʌḍḍe vʌḍḍe hákum us kolo˜ trá^ne āī^e. sáre lok usá^˜ pherú pherú sədene āī^e. tussá˜ vi tʌkiá hosi—hʌtthec cá˜di-ni shámá˜-áli ḍá˜g honi ʌ^ius. mʌJh lá˜guṛ bə^nená āī^iá nʌsvári Je^e rʌńge ni˜. colá cáṛá Je^á gāīliá˜ bá^vá˜-álá pāī˜si-nə˜ gʌl honá āī^ius. ti sire ti bʌ^ú˜ tə˜ kálá pʌṭká honá āī^ius nʌ^ī˜-tə˜ ciṭṭá.

bʌṛi hug ʌ^i sáre mulxec usni. ghʌro˜ kʌdi us khá^dá nʌ^ī˜ āī^iá. koi shāū^kár Ji^á mil giá tə˜ usá^˜ ubrá ki ákhiá—má^˜ Jáṇná ki nāī^˜. māī^ḍhá ná˜ məhʌmud'xán e. Je kuJh āī^vá kʌḍh de. kʌ^ī˜ ni˜ məzál nʌ^ī˜ ʌ^i Ji ʌggo˜ kuskiá vi cá^. Gəribá˜ mʌskiná˜ kuJh nʌ^ī˜ əkhenāī^iá. pʌr hik āīb āī^ius, shəráb zərúr pināī^iá ti záni vi rʌJ ki āī^iá.

picche sávṇe-c xún ho giá sho^dhá. visá^e-c máriá giá.

məhʌmud'xáne˜ ni˜ tʌlle ni hikki luhári nál səlá^ ʌ^i. tussi Jáṇne hoso fʌJJú luháre-á˜, us ni˜ trimut. jári ḍá^ḍhi trʌkṛi ʌ^i. luhári hik dhiáṛe məhʌmdú-ə˜ ákhiá—bhái já tə˜ má^˜ kʌḍh khʌṛ já isá^˜ fʌJJú-ə˜ kədʌú˜ ʌḍḍe bʌnne lá. isá^˜ lʌg geá pʌttá ti má^˜ i roz mərená. māī˜ ḍá^ḍhi həlák á˜, əzábá˜-c Ján e. chuṛá.

məhʌmud'xáne˜, pherú, ákhiá—cʌńgá, ʌtro˜ kāīṛ ghisá˜.

man, he is perforated with needles. Both began to pick out (needles). The elder was tired and leaving aside (the job) slipped out for a walk. The younger kept plucking. When all needles were taken out, then the man came to senses.

He told the younger one that—"I have been ensnared thus and the giant has pricked needles into my body." (That man was a king.) The king, pleased, made her his queen.

In the meanwhile the elder sister returned. He made her maid.

Taking all property they started out.

MURDERED

Pihra Fatehal, aged 19)

Of our village, there was a brave man, high tall young youth. Very big officers were afraid of him. All people called him "Pheru". You also might have seen him. In his hand he used to have a club with silver ferule. About his loins he used to tie a cloth sheet of brownish colour. A pretty wide shirt with loose sleeves and made of fine yarn used to be about his neck. (i.e. body). And on head usually there was a black turban or else a white one.

Great fame (notoriety) had he in the whole country. He never ate from his (own) house. If any rich-like man met him then he was called and asked—Do you know me or not? My name is Mohammad Khan. Whatever you have, turn out (give away). No one had the courage even to grumble in reply. To the poor and the needy he would say nothing. On the other hand, from his own hand (pocket) he would give them. But he had one vice; drink he must and adulterer also he was to excess.

In the last Savan month he was murdered. The poor fellow was killed by treachery (lit. in trust).

Mohammad Khan with the wife of an ironsmith had illicit connections. You must be knowing Fajju, the ironsmith, (it is) his wife. Love was very strong. The wife of the ironsmith one day said to Mohammad—(that) either take me away indeed or this Fajju convey to some end (end him). He has become conscious of it and me he beats daily. I am greatly distressed. In tortures is my life. Save it.

Mohammad Khan or Pheru said—All right. I shall take action day after tomorrow.

vekho, ʌllá kaĩ̃ gʌllá̃-c rází e. us dhiáṛe Jis dhiáṛe məhʌmudxáne̊ fʌJJú-ə̃ kʌtul kʌrná aĩ̃^iá, nimáshá̃ velaĩ̃^iá. ti de^o̊ hʌllá ʌndur bá^r aĩ̃^iá Ji məhʌmudxáne-ə̃ ḍá'xáne kol mʌmḍoṭe álá sʌíjud áṇ milná.

hʌth pʌ̃Já ghiddá dittá. hál həvál puchiá kítá. ṭurne phirne raĩ̃^e. vʌt sʌíjud gʌllá̃ kʌtthá̃-ci usá^̃ Juál ní hʌṭṭí ti ghin áiá. utthe thoṛá thoṛá dárú píte^one̊ ti vʌt drʌgṛe dáí̃ nikul gaĩe. sʌíjde ákhiá—á nə̃ járá zʌrák əgere toṛí má^̃ ləghá-i-á. aĩ̃^ fláṇe khú^íje kolo̊ muṛ pʌve̊. maĩ̃ mʌmḍoṭ lʌggá vaĩsá̃, tú̃ shá^r muṛ áve̊. kreniá̃ kreniá̃, gʌllá̃ kʌtthá̃-ci vʌ̃J pañ^̃te tláe ti. ʌgge vaĩ̃nen tə̃ fʌJJú ti gullú káṇá.

pherú táṛ giá bháí maĩ̃ḍhe sire-ne̊ gá^k-un; bháí sʌíjde má-code má^̃ rʌṛe ti áṇ ki márná Jotriá. kʌḍhius kácú. Jeo̊ Ji sʌíjde-nə̃ ḍhiḍh páṛun lʌggaĩ̃^iá Ji gullú kuháṛí dittí moḍhe te.

vʌt ví Jʌṇe ne̊ putre kácú vəgáiá ghuká ki, ti sʌíjde ní̃ kkáḍí te áṇ lʌggá. kʌtrú-k phʌṭ peos. sʌṭ ghusá̃-ví̃ lʌggí, nʌ^í̃ tə̃ xaĩr ho vʌ̃jus á. fʌJJú dúí kuháṛí márí. pherú sho^dhá ḍhaĩ pi^á. cíká̃ nikul gʌí̃us, pʌr utthe kor suṇe á?

sʌíjde ʌJJe ví ghʌṭ nə̃ kítí. kácú ghin ki muṛde ne̊ mú^í̃je ti hidde áde bʌ^ú̃ sáre ṭʌk lá choṛeus. nʌk kʌp ghiddius ti traĩ^e cá ki phuláíá̃-c sʌṭ-i áe.

traĩ dhiáṛe muṛdá trʌkná re^á. roz kittí ádmí lʌghne raĩ̃^e, pʌr kʌ^í̃-ə̃ ke? shaĩ^re-c rāūlá paĩ giá. pulsá̃ piccho̊ vʌ̃J pʌttá lʌgiá.

lásh muṛdá-chille-c cəvá ki ghin áe. āūkh is gʌllá̃-nə̃ thí piá bhʌí kor e, sin̊Jhá̃ṛun kíkuṇ. mú^̃-tə̃ disná naĩ̃^eá, bá^vá̃ te zərúr "məhʌmud" likhá oiāūiá, pʌr məhʌmud kʌ^ín. í ke^ṭá ti ke^ṭá nʌ^í̃, kʌkh nə̃ suJhe.

əxírí luhárí phuṭṭí. us áṇ dʌsiá bháí maĩ̃^ḍhe Jʌṇe hí ká^r páiá. í məhʌmud pí^ṛe álá, pherú. isní̃ khʌbbí kʌch cə vekho. Ji

(Now) look, in what things is God pleased! That (very) day when Mohammad Khan was to murder Faj ju, it was evening. And the Sun was about to set when to Mohammad Khan meets the Sayyad of Mamdot (village) near the Post Office.

They gave and took (shook) hands. They asked (each other's) welfare. They kept walking about. Then the Sayyad during talks, brought him to the shop of Jual. There they drank a little of wine and then went out towards the stream-bed. The Sayyad said—Come on friend, please a little way further come to leave me. Just from near such-and-such a well you may return. I shall go over to Mamdot, you may return to the town. Thus doing during their talks they arrived at the tank. As they go forward (there appear) then Fajju and Gullu, the one-eyed.

Pheru (at once) found out that they are customers of my head; then he cursed the Sayyad that he has conspired to kill me in the open. (He) took out his knife. As he was about to stab into his belly then Gullu struck him with an axe on his shoulder.

Even then that son of a brave man threw his knife vehemently and it struck at the Sayyad's chin. He had just a small wound. The hurt did not get its aim, or else it must have been well with him. Fajju gave a second blow with (his) axe. Poor Pheru fell down. Shrieks came out of him. But who was to listen to him there?

The Sayyad even yet did not lose (chance). Taking up the knife, on the face of the corpse across many cuts he applied. He cut its nose. And the three lifting it up threw it away in the *palasa* grove.

For three days the dead body kept stinking. Daily many people kept passing, but what concern was it to anyone? There arose an uproar in the town. To the police information reached late.

The dead body to the mortuary was made to be carried by them. Difficulty there became about this matter as to who he is. How should they identify it. Face indeed was not to be seen. On the arm, indeed, 'Mohammad' was written, but Mohammads there were many. Which he is and which he is not, no clue (lit. no straw) could be seen.

At last the wife of the ironsmith broke up. She came and told that 'My man has committed this cruelty. This Mohammad is Pheru belonging to Pihra. Look under his left armpit. If there

kálá dáG āi^ tá~-tə~ ú^á. isá^~ hik ver kʌchláṛí nixtí ʌ^í tí us nə~ ṭiká~ rāi^ geāius.

vəkhnen tə~ sʌgvá~ ú^á. trāi^e xú~ní nʌppe gāie.

A CLEVER

(Told by Mehdi Awan,

hik āi^iá leḷá. vʌḍá thíá tə~ səlá^ bʌṇíus bháí nánke ho ává~. ṭur piá Jí hikʌ^l mukʌllá. Jio~ Ji ḍhoká~ to~ bá^r nikʌlná tə~ hik giduṛ milius. us ákhiá—bʌccú, māi~ Jí tudhá^~ ákhāiiá idde ná^~ áve~ mʌrsʌú~, kio~ áiá~. khəlo māi~ tāi~ḍhí kāiṛ ghinná~. vāiná~ kidde~? māi~ tudhá^~ khāiná~.

us ákhiá—bábá, māi~ tə~ kuJh ná^~ ákhná~. pʌr tú~ ápe tʌk bhaí māi~ kiṭṇá lissá~. māi~ Jullá~ nánke. uttho~ ḍoṭá thí ki ásá~ tə~ bishʌk kháe~.

əgere vāiná tə~ hik pighiáṛ mil peus. usá^~ ví hi~Je ár ákhius, ti tilká ki nikul giá.

kreniá~ kreniá~ usá^~ sher, citrá, lʌktruṭṭá sáre mille. uná^~ í^á ákhe—nánkṛe ghʌr vāisá~, ḍoṭá thí ki ásá~, bishʌk khá ghinne~.

pʌn^tá Jí nánke ghʌr. náni, másí, má~mí, má~má mille kíte. mo^ro~ vʌṛ giá choliá~ álí səkárí-c. khá khá ki uná^~ muká ri^á tə~ náni-ə~ ákhius—máe, māi~ bhukkhá~.

us muńgá~ álí səkárí-c váṛ dittius. dʌb ki muńg khá^dius. vʌt Jʌvvá~ álí səkárí-c vʌṛ giá. hi~Je ár kʌṇuk, Juár, məkʌí hʌbbá kuJh muká bāiṭhá tə~ náni-á~ ákhuṇ lʌggá—māi~ huṇ vāi^ná~ máú kol Ji ú bʌ^ú~ virágí hosí. i~J kʌr. má^~ cə pá hikkí ḍholkíc. usá^~ mʌ^ṛ ki re^ṛ de. māi~ ápe vʌ~J rá^sá~.

rá^ec sher khəlotāiiá. us puchiá ḍholkíe ḍhəmukṛíe, māi~dhá lelá ḍiṭhaí, tə~ cə dʌs.

us ákhiá—dhur pio ḍhəmukṛí nə~, dhur pio lele nə~, cʌl ní~ ḍholkíe ḍhʌmká ḍhum.

hi~Je ár pighiáṛ, citrá, sáre mille. əxír giduṛ ví miliá. pʌr í, bʌc ki, ghʌr á giá.

is a black scar, then of course it is he. He once had an ulcer and its scar had been left behind.'

As they see, then it is exactly he. The three murderers were arrested.

LAMB

aged 50, of Ḳufri)

There was a lamb. When he grew old then he formed opinion (thought) that (let me) go to and return from (my) mother's parents' house. He started, Sir, all alone. As he goes out of the hamlet then a jackal met him. He said, "Child, I had told (warned) you not to come this side. Why have you come? Stay, I will take you to task. Where do you go? I eat you."

He replied—Grandfather, I indeed do not say anything. But you yourself see how weak I am. I am going to my mother's parents. From there I shall come fattened, then doubtlessly you may eat (me).

(As) he goes further then a wolf meets him up. Him also he said like this, and slipping away went out.

Doing thus, him a lion, a tiger, hyena, all met. Then to them he would say the same thing: To mother's parents' house I shall go, I shall come fattened doubtlessly, (then) eat me up.

Reached he, Sir, his mother's parents. Grandmother, aunt, uncle's wife, uncle met him and so on. First he entered into the granary of grams. Eating and eating (when) he had finished them then he said to the grandmother—Mama, I am hungry.

She made him enter the granary of *mung* pulse. Much of *mung* did he eat. Afterwards in the granary of barleys he entered. In this way wheat, millet, maize, all things he finished and sat; then he began to say to his grandmother, "I now go near to my mother because she would be very sad. Do so (that) put me in a small drum. Covering it, roll it on. I shall reach (there) myself."

In the way was standing the lion. He asked—O drum, drum, if you have seen my lamb, then do tell.

He said—Cursed be drum's father, cursed be lamb's father. Go on, O drum, drum-drum-drum.

In this way, the wolf, the tiger all met. At last the jackal also met. But he, safe, came up home.

A MURDER

(Narrated by Gurbaksh Shah, picche Jeṛá kʌtul hoiá, us ni gʌl suṇi ne~. sher'xán sher-'xán hik Jʌṇá~ sivi koṭe dái~ nɜ̄ukur ɜ̄i^iá, ti nikke multán viJá^iá oiá ɜ̄i^iá. prár fʌslá~ neá~ dhiáṛiá~c koi dú~ vʌ^riá~ piccho~ chuṭṭi áiɜ̄i^iá.

itthe áṇ ke pʌttá lʌgeos Ji mɜ̄iḍhi trimti ni~ Jholi-c koi tri~ cʌú~ məhiniá~ nə~ Játuk e. sʌṛ bʌl geá. pʌr kʌ^i~-á~ nə~ dʌseos. dʌṛ vʌṭ re^á.

məhine-á~ chuṭṭi mukki. do cár dhiáṛe pɜ̄i^lo^~ i sá^vre dʌggá giá, ápṇi trimti-á~ ákheos bhʌi tiári kʌr Ji və~Já^~. əvádhiá~ gəváḍhiá~ guthiá~ toshe páe. kuṛiá~ gʌl lʌg ki miliá~ kitiá~. sʌs sɜ̄u^rá Jəvátre ti dhiú-á~ əgere toṛi ləghávuṇ áe.

vʌḍi bʌ^ni~ to~ e^ tə~ duá slám kʌr ke pʌrut áe, ti o^ do^e~, ti kʌcri álá, te hik dhʌbbá əgá^~ ṭur pʌe. us vele sʌrghi elá hosi.

kʌcri ti səmián lʌdiá oiá ɜ̄i^iá, ti o Jʌṇá~ trimət vi vári vʌṭṭi cʌ^ṭne lɜ̄u^ne lʌgge áe. rá^e-c Je^ṛe ele zənáni cʌ^ṭni ʌ^i nə~ tə~ dhʌbbá ti sherxán bʌ^ú~ kuJh gʌlá~ kʌthá~ krene~ áne ɜ̄i^e.

i~Jre nə~ ṭesbən multáno~ cʌńge cokhe pɜ̄i~ḍe te. koi dá^ bárá~ ko^ tə~ hosi. Je^ṛe vele suháe~ ti ʌpṛe tə~ u^nná~ kʌcri ále-ə~ ákhiá bhʌi ʌssi nə^sá~ dhusá^~ ti tú~ lʌgh Jul. Ji mo^rá~ mil pʌe tə~ vá^-vá, nʌ^i~ tə~ ṭeshən ti milsá^~.

ʌJe mú^~ hənárá i ɜ̄i^iá ; de^e-á~ tə~ xʌbər ʌdər i koi nʌ^i~ ʌ^i. sher'xán ti dhʌbbá trikhá~ mʌṭhá~ nál náte. kuṛi vi pəsitti thi ki návuṇ lʌggi. ʌJe piṇḍe te páṇi pɜ̄ini ʌ^i Ji e^ do^e~ vʌ~J ṭʌkre. dhʌbbe ghuṭ ki nʌp rʌkhiá, ti sher'xáne kácú kʌḍh ki puchiá—dʌs hrámṇi~, Játuk kɜ̄i~ḍhʌi ? ákhuṇ lʌggi, 'ʌllá ná'.

"ʌllá ná tə~ ɜ̄i^ ghin"—dhɜ̄i~ khobheos kácú shodhi ni~ chátic. utho~ kʌḍh ki do ṭʌk gʌle te láe, ti us ni~ Ján kʌḍh sʌṭius, ti usá^~ cá ki kʌḍhe ti márius.

HISTORY

aged 26, of Kot Sarang)

Last time the murder that took place, have you heard the talk about it? A man Sher Khan by name was in service towards Sibbi-Quetta and was married at Multan Village. Two years before, during harvest days after about two years he had come on leave.

After coming over here he came to know that in my wife's lap is a child of about three four months. He was burnt (excited by jealousy). But he did not tell anybody. He kept his mouth shut.

After a month the leave expired. Two four days earlier he went to his parents-in-law. To his wife he said—Get ready that we may go. The neighbours etc. put (presented) sweets, packets and gifts. Women met her by embracing. The father-in-law and the mother-in-law came up to see off their son-in-law and daughter to some distance.

From the big pond these indeed after blessing and greeting came back, and they both and the mule-driver, and a washerman went on further. At that time it would be early dawn.

On the mule was laden luggage, and that man and wife also came up mounting and dismounting it turn by turn. In the way when the woman would mount then the washerman and Sher Khan came on talking a lot.

The Injra (railway) station is at a sufficient distance from Multan. About ten or twelve double-miles it would be, indeed. When they reached the Sohan (river) then they said to the mule-driver that: We shall bathe and wash, and you pass on. If we meet (catch you) earlier, well and good; or else we shall meet at the station.

Yet it was early dark; the Sun had no warning at all. Sher Khan and the washerman took bath in hurry. The woman also, her face turned, began to bathe. Still she was just putting water over her body when these two (men) startled her. The washerman stiffly caught her and Sher Khan taking out his knife, asked—Tell, O bastard, whose is the child? She began to say: It is God's.

"If it is God's, then here is it." At once he stabbed a knife into the chest of the poor (lady). Taking it out from there he gave two cuts at her neck, and her life he took out, and lifting her up hit her against the bank.

Játuk məshúm suttá ghúk piá aĩ^iá. usá^~ pʌṭeos. ṭʌŋgo~ nʌp ki ti Je^ṛe vele pʌṛí ti pʌṭkáios, tə~ cíká~ vic í sho^dhe mí~ Ján nikul gaí.

dú^á~ muṛdeá~ tráṛá~ nál kʌṛ ki ḍhʌnná~c sʌṭ ditios.

dhʌbbá ghʌr lʌggá giá ti sher'xán i~Jreo~ gʌḍḍí te cʌ^ṛ ki koṭe lʌggá giá.

ú dhiáṛá ví lʌgh giá, dúá dhiáṛá ví lʌgh geá, tríe dhiáṛe us Jatke ní~ lásh phuṇḍ ki, kidáío~ rʌssí co~ zará tilək gaí, ti páṇíe~c uṭhí ki us nə~ hʌth bá^r disívuṇ lʌg peá.

tussá~ sʌ^í e Ji hʌr vele həzárá~ ádmí pʌe lʌghnen. kʌ^í~ takiá, tə~ ḍhʌnná~c vʌṛ-ki hʌth chikios, pʌr kíkuṇ nikle. ḍəbukkí márius tə~ ke təkená Ji tʌle hik hor lásh e.

shá^mʌmdí bhʌJná áiá. loká~ á ki kʌḍhí. pulus ví á gaí. kaĩ^~ multáne ne~ ádmíe~ si~Jhátí. sher'xán nʌpiá áiá. dhʌbbá ví bəJhíá.

huṇ mukʌdmá~ piá oiá. ʌJ suṇiá~ shishən thí giá.

Specimens of Reshi sub-dialect

MARRI

(Told by Hayat, a military pensioner, mo^ro~ mə~gevá thíná. Jákut lʌ̃u^ke lʌ̃uke hon tʌ~mí~ nisháṇí kʌr chuṛenen, sʌttá~ ʌṭhá~ vʌ^riá~ ne honen.

məṅgeve ále dhiáṛe kuṛiá~ nʌḍhiá~ duá xaĩr ákhí. kuṛiá~ vʌkhríá~ aĩṭhiá~ rʌ^iá~. mə~gevá honá tə~ nʌḍhe ále cíṛe khəṛenen—máú dhíú doiá~ nə~ Joṛá khʌṛá. maĩdí ti Jutiá~ ví nál á~diá~. biládrí ne~ pʌndrá~ ví^ ádmí á vaĩnen. trí cálí kuṛiá~ ciṛiá~ ví kʌṭhiá thí vaĩníán.

kuṛí ále náíe-á~ do~ rupaĩ, Jəvátre á~ cíṛe denen.

doe~ ʌṭhovárí á~ lʌgh vʌ~Jun tə~ Jəvátre-á~ səda ĩnen. mirásṇiá~ ánían. kuṛiá~ maĩdí laĩníán. vʌt hʌbbá gávuṇ, ḍhole, máíe, ṭʌppe, ḍoṛe, sʌd ti Gʌzlá~ gaĩníán.

The innocent child was lying sound asleep. He startled him up. Catching him by leg, when he knocked him down on a rock, then in screams, forsooth, his life went out.

Tightening up both the dead bodies with a rock he threw them into the deep water.

The washerman went away home and Sher Khan entraining at Injra went away to Quetta.

That day, too, passed away, the next day also passed away, the third day that child's corpse swelling slipped out, somehow, a little from the rope and rising above water (surface) its hand began to be visible outside.

You know that every time thousands of people keep passing. Some one saw it, then entering the deep water, pulled the hand, but how should it come out. When he dived, then he saw that below there was another corpse.

He came running to Shah Mohammadi. People came and took it out. The Police also came up. Some man of Multan identified it. Sher Khan came arrested. The washerman was also caught.

Now a law-suit is going on. It is heard to-day that it has been committed to the Sessions.

AGE

aged 60, of Budhial)

First, betrothal takes place. Children are small, even then they fix the sign. They are (then) of seven eight years.

On the day of betrothal, women and men say prayers. Women keep sitting apart. (When) betrothal takes place, then men of the bridegroom's side take away clothes - they take clothes both for the daughter and the mother. *Henna* and shoes also they bring along. Fifteen twenty men of the brotherhood come. Thirty forty women etc. also assemble.

Members of the bride's side to the barber two rupees, and to the son-in-law clothes give.

(When) two weeks pass away they send for the son-in-law. Female minstrels come. Women apply *henna*. Then all songs, couplets (verses), love-lores, erotic poems, *dohas*, calls and ghazals sing.

luḍí kheḍnián, cíṇá˜ chəṛenián.

sháre nə˜ mə˜gevá hove, tə˜ Jəvátre á˜ roṭí koí nʌí˜ khəvāíne˜—gharo˜ khá kʌṇí ánə.

vijáe kolo˜ pāílo˜ biládrí á˜ sʌd ki, gʌḍh pávuṇ vāínen. us vele mullá ánə. us kolo˜ dhiáṛá puch kʌṇí, ḍho rʌkh denen.

Jʌ˜J á vāiní e. nimáshá˜ vele ánen. sʌthur, sʌr já˜ bhʌgul vichá ghínen. roṭí khá kʌṇí mulle á˜ sədāínen. biládrí ne˜ ádmí˜ ánen tə˜ niká^ bʌdhá vāínə.

nʌḍhe bhʌńgṛá mərenen. kuṛíá˜ nʌḍhe səbále á˜ ghin ánián ʌndur.

niháṇí beṛí ghoṛí ghin áni e, rupʌijá ghíní e—kuṛí nə˜ sir gu˜dávi. kuṛíá˜ nʌḍhe-á˜ vʌl ḍhəenián, guṛenián.

səvele-vʌt roṭí khəvái. dáJ páiá mirási já˜ ḍháḍí, á ki dáJ hukená.

kuṛí ne˜ sávre kəzáve to˜ məkháṇe ulenen te pāíse vəgāínen.

niháṇí nál vāiní e.

DAILY ROUTINE

(Told by Ramzan, a weaver,

1. siále-c

deo˜ cʌṛe sirkí co˜ nikəlnen hʌguṇ shʌguṇ koí nʌí˜ vāíne, hʌguṇ iná˜ dupárá˜ ele ánə. pʌ˜J sʌt kʌṭṭhe thí vāínen, ḍháḍí cə lāínen. vic cilum cə rʌkhí. bhəvá˜ ki təmáku pínen. báJre ne ṭá˜ḍe, líra˜, kʌkh, bəṇúṭhiá˜ rukhá˜ ní lʌí, ṭáliá˜ ne˜ pʌtur bəlenen.

vʌt liári-á˜ ʌ˜dur coiá. ráne ḍʌńgrá˜ bár kʌḍh khəṛenen. báro˜ ghin áiá khurlí pʌṭhá—pʌtrá, dhukkí, kutrá, kʌṛuh, virí, kʌ˜ḍiárá, pərúṇí, ludhrá.

ṭʌbrí ṭukur pəkāíní e. khá kʌṇí cilmá˜ ti áṇ ʌJhná. vʌt dátriá˜ shátriá˜ ḍhí˜ge ḍhá˜ge ghin ki lʌgá áiá márke te. utthe kiJh galá˜ kʌthá˜ kítiá˜.

utho˜ í lʌgge vāínen bár. vʌṭváṇí uthái˜ vʌ˜J krenen. peshí ele muṛ ánen. vʌt márke te cilmá˜ mərenen.

Ludi dance and *cina* dance (they) make.

If it be a local betrothal, then to the son-in-law meals they do not serve—eating from his own house he comes.

Before the marriage, calling the brotherhood, they go to tie the knot. At that time the priest comes. Asking for (an auspicious) day, they fix the date.

Marriage party comes up. They come in the evening. Flooring, reed grass or blankets they spread. Eating bread, (they) call the priest. Men of the brotherhood come and marriage is tied (performed.)

Men a dance strike (make). Women bring the bridegroom and (his) bestman inside.

The wife of the barber brings a (toy) boat and mare. (She) takes rupees as a charge for braiding the bride't head (hair). Women drop down the bridegroom well and beat him.

Next day again meal is served. Dowry is put up. The minstrel or the bard coming, shouts out the dowry.

The parents-in-law of the girl throw sweets from over the cradle (or sedan) and throw coins.

The barber's wife goes along with (her).

OF A ZAMINDAR

aged 35, of Tammaṇ)

1. In Winter

At sunrise from the quilt they come out. To ease themselves they do not go. Easing comes to them at noon-time. Five seven together become and make bonfire. In the middle smoking pipe is put. Rotating it, they smoke tobacco. Stalks of millet, rags, straw, cotton plants, fuel of trees, leaves of Shisham they burn.

Then milch-animal they milk inside. The rest of cattle out they tak away. From outside they bring manger fodder, foliage, husks, mown grass, maize stalks, grass, shrubs, and other kinds of fodder.

The wife cooks bread. Eating it he comes to sit at the smoking pipe. The scythes, etc. and bamboos, etc. taking he comes on to the club. There he does some chit-chat.

From there they go out. For motion they go and do there. At afternoon time they return. Again at the club smoking pipes enjoy.

hukká dhukká chiknen.

Je^ṛe hoe hiklʌssur, un tə~ ḍʌṅgrá~ áp páṇí lá ə~ṛenen. Ji^ná~ nə~ koí Játuk potuk hoiá, u^nná~ Játká~ ákhá, "páṇí sháṇí lá áṇo~."

ḍʌṅgur muṛ kʌṇí áe. uná^ khurlí ti bʌddhá. muṭh dʌthá páiá. bhú~ mʌn~Jiá~ co~ milená riá. gutává páiá. nimáz pʌ^ṛí—dígrí velá thí giá. ghʌr zʌrá ṭʌbre ṭíre-c aiṭhá. gʌppá~ shʌppá~ máriá~. ḍʌṅgrá~ coiá.

ṭukur khá ki, mʌṛud márke ti áṇ ʌg sikenen. zənániá~ utthe kʌṭhíá~ thí vainián Jithe dívá ám bʌle.

Jhʌṭik picho~ sai~ ránen.

2. hʌllá~ ne~ dhiáṛiá~c

ḍá~grí tárá sir mərená giá, Jágná giá, hʌl moḍhe te, ḍʌṅgur ʌgge cə láe, Jhárí kʌchá~-c már kʌṇí lʌggá giá bár. páṇi lá khʌṛá. Ji hʌle á~ səvel hoí, tə~ ḍʌṅgrá~ gháe máe ti cərá ghiddá. hukká shukká márá. vʌt hʌl vai^ná riá.

kʌṇkʌṇí roṭí ele, ṭukur á vainá lʌssí ti ṭukur, kʌdí kədái~ caṛá cupṛá ví. zumme ále dhiáṛe visʌlluṇ ví áná. ídí ti hʌlvá bhonvá~, súJí nə~ dodhí álá (səbúṇí) bhogur—sevíá~ pəkainen; já Jeṛí shai puJ áve.

ḍʌṅgrá~ khəlá ki, Joṛá cə khilárá. ṭukre ti bai giá. cilum chik ki, vʌt vəhainá riá.

dupár thíí tə~ áṇ ghʌṭṭá. ṭhʌḍí chá~vá~ ti dhá dho ki sai~ riá.

Jág ki vʌt hʌl vá^iá. nimáshá~ ele ḍʌṅgrá~ səbháliá. rʌmmá~ dátrí ghin kʌṇí, ghá bəṇáiá—ai kkʌbbul, dʌbb, səvá~k, tʌ~dúlá, bʌrvá, bhʌkhṛá, moṭh, Juár.

roṛe ní Juár (kəbáṛ) kháe tə~ ḍʌṅgur mʌr vainá. bhʌsrá uṭh kháe tə~ hoṭe lʌg vainás.

dígrí ele ghʌr muṛ áná. ḍʌṇgrá~ trai verí muṭh painen—hik nimáshá~, hik kuftá~, hik sʌrghí.

3. Kʌṇká~ ne~ dhiáṛiá~-c

sʌrugh hosí uṭhsí—Jʌndrí cə piṛesí. pʌtṇe to~ páṇi bhʌr əṇesí. dátrí ghin kʌṇí ṭur pausí. vʌ~J ki kʌṇʌk kəpesí. roṭí vaisí. zenání

i.e., pipe etc. they smoke.

Those who are alone, they make the cattle drink water by going themselves. Those who have a son or boy, they to the boys say—go and make them drink water.

Cattle returning come. Them they tie on the manger. (They) put handful or bundle. (They) go on sweeping straw from bedsteads. (They) put forage. (They) say prayers. Evening time becomes. In the house just in the family (they) sit. (They) make chats. (They) milk the cattle.

After taking meals men at the club come and bask fire. Women there assemble where lamp generally lights.

After a while they go to sleep.

2. During plough days

When the animal (morning) star its head strikes out (rises), he gets up. Plough on shoulder (he) drives the cattle ahead; putting a water bag under armpit, (he) goes out. (He) makes (the cattle) drink water. If for ploughing it is too early, then the cattle on the grass, etc. he grazes. He smokes pipe. Then (he) goes on ploughing.

At mid-day meal-time, bread comes—sour milk and bread. Sometimes cooked and fried etables also. On Friday, special dish also comes. On Id pudding, fried, of wheat-flour, milky substance (soap-like) coarse preparation—they prepare vermicelli; or whatever they can afford.

Making the cattle stay, he spreads out his clothes. He sits at meals. After smoking pipe, again, he goes on ploughing.

When noon becomes then he is tired. In cool shade taking bath etc. he goes to sleep.

Waking again he ploughs. In early evening he collects his cattle. Hoe and scythe taking, he makes grass—just (these various kinds of grass.).

If millet of drought it may eat, the cattle dies. If the camel may eat *bhasra* shrub, then it affects his heart.

In the evening home he returns. To the cattle three times he puts handfuls—once early evening, one at sleeping time, one very early dawn.

3. During days of wheat (harvest)

Early dawn it will be (that) he rises—he will harness (wooden) pannier. From the stream water he will fetch. Taking sickle he will start. Going there he will reap wheat. Bread will go—(his) wife

khəɾesus. hukká páɳí pí ki vʌt doprá kítá. sáí kʌḍh kʌɳí vʌt dátrí cá ghísí ti lʌg pɯsi.

nimáshá~ tíkuɳ kʌm kresí gaḍíá~ cá cá ki hikʌṭṭhá kresí ti ḍʌlíá~ lāísí.

ghar á kʌɳí liárí cosí. roṭí ṭukur khá ki kuftá~ hosun tə~ sɯ~sí.

BIOGRAPHY

(Related by a Camel-driver of Kot Gulla)

ḍácí vareá~ súní e. toḍá dudh píná. ciruk thí vʌ~Je tə~ Jaṅgul nə~ ghá pʌṭhá khāiná ráná—ber, phulá, túṭ, dáɳá khāiná. tel lúɳ zərúr diviná. roɾi ruzíná cəṭávɳí thəísí.

vʌre-á~ lihák thí giá. pʌn~Jik vʌre lihák sədíná, vʌt duák (dundá). sʌtve~ vʌre cɯg, ʌṭhve~ chiggá, ti dáve~ neshá kʌḍh vāiná.

kənírá khāin tə~ mʌr vāinen. ládí duʌkí kʌḍh ghíne-á~.

ḍácí lʌdɳe nə~ fāid koí nʌí~. (kio~ ?). āi cʌrní vʌtte, tə~ phʌl sɯ che~ víá~ nə~ thí vāiná.

(uṭh cʌṅgá sʌmJhene-o ki ḍácí ?) mádíá~ cʌṅgíá~ honián. vádhá thíná nə~—hí gʌl e.

(kitɳá bhár lədene o ?)

ʌgge tə~ lədene-á~ cár mʌɳ. ʌJkʌl kí bhár e. che~ mʌɳ sʌt mʌɳ lʌd ghínen.

(kí kí lədene o ?)

Jí~ cíz á vʌ~Je—mál, guɾ, dáɳá, váɾá.

səváríá hon tə~ kəcává pá ghiJíná. vʌṭe ḍhone-á~ Jʌndrí te, lukṭíá~ ne~ bhár ʌḍḍá bəɳá ki lədene á~. ár sár púrá kʌr ghijíná.

cetre-c pəláɳe lá ghidde te ʌsse kʌtte-c pá ditte.

(oṭhíá~ kol ke ke honá ?)

muhár, sir muhár, nəthúr, moruk, búí, təvíz, gʌrmul, kál, pəláɳá, será, párḍí, pɯ~cíá~, rʌssá, dhágá, dátrí, borá, Jʌndrí, kəcává, káṭhí, kásá, hukká, súá, bhʌgul, khú~ḍá, chimuk, bug.

will bring it. Smoking pipe and drinking water he takes a nap. Taking rest (breath) again the sickle he will take and carries on.

Till evening he will do work. Sheaves lifting he will collect, and make piles.

Coming home he will milk the milch animal. Taking meals, etc. when it will be sleeping time he will sleep.

OF A CAMEL

(Related by a Camel-driver of Kot Gulla)

She-camel after a year gives birth. Child-camel sucks milk. After a time, grass and vegetation of the forest he goes on eating: jujube, *palasha*,, mulberry and grains it eats. Oil and salt must be given. A lump daily has got to be licked.

After a year it becomes a young camel. For five years or so, it is called 'lihak', then 'duak' (having two teeth). In the 7th year four-teethed, in the 8th six-teethed, and in the tenth its youth shoots out.

If they eat *Kanira* shrub, they die. We begin to load a 'duak'.

Of loading a she-camel, no use there is. (Why ?) Just because if it grazes about, her fruit (young one) of price 100 or six-twenties (Rs. 120) becomes.

(Do you think to be better a he-camel or a she-camel ?) Females are better. There is increase, you see—this is the thing.

(How many loads do you load ?)

Before we used to load four maunds. These days what load is there! Six maunds seven maunds do they load.

(What things do you carry ?)

Whatever thing comes up—merchandise, molasses, corn, cotton.

(If) passengers there be cradles are put on. Stones we carry on a wooden pannier. Loads of wood, making a noose, do we carry. Balance is kept.

In Chet (month) harness is taken off, and in Asoj-Kartik it is put on.

(With camel-men what things there are ?)

Rein, bridle-rope, nose-nail, wooden-nail, mouth-cover, amulet, neck-tie, jingles, girt, chaplet, plume, anklets, rope, tie, sickle, sack, wood-pannier, cradle, saddle, jar, pipe, needle, blanket, stick, whip and bag.

A BLIND

(Narrated by Karam Shah

hik āiiá mirási ti hik mirásuṇ. mirásuṇ ʌí bʌdmásh. vāiní e hikkí fəkíre ní xəngá~ te; ákhní e—já fəkírá í mírási ʌ^nná~ thí vʌ~Je.

mirásieá~ pʌttá lʌg giá. picche picche lʌggá vāiná. mirásuṇ duá ákhní e—já mliává xudá niá, í mírási ʌ^nná~ thí vʌ~je.

dúe dhiáṛe, káli bhʌglí vəleṭ ki, vāiná zártá~ ti. uthái~ lʌmmá thí pāinná. mirásuṇ ání e—maṅgní e duá.

ákhná—thí vāisí—pʌr cáli dhiáṛe ghio gává ti káliá~ mʌrcá~ pá ki des. suṇ ki lʌggí ání e. mirási ví, rá vəlá ki, ʌgge áṇ ki sāi~ pāinná.

dúe dhiáṛe ákhnís—mirásiá, māi~ko hive~ Jápná Ji tú~ ghʌṭná vāiná~.

kiJh khá^dá pítá kʌr. use dhiáṛe cúrí shurú kʌr denís.

vívá~ ki ikívá~ dhiáṛá thíná, tə~ mirási ákhná—māiḍhí ʌkhíá~ ʌgge dhud disní e.

cáliá~ dhiáṛiá~ ákhná—ní māi~ tə~ ʌ^nná thí giá~.

mirásṇí dillec ákhní e, hʌchá kāi~ dhiáṛ e əzmái~. hik dhiáṛá Ji pāinní e sevíá~ cə vəṭeni e; ákhnís, háfzá māi~ páṇí vāiní á~, sevíá nə xiál rʌkhe~—koí billí kuttá nə~ pʌvve.

ákhná—soṭí hʌtthe-c de vʌ~J.

muṛ ki ání e tə~ əkhená—dhur dhur sái~ mʌrní~. soṭí dhāi~ denás mirásṇí ní kʌṇḍí-c. "hʌllá vāi ʌ^nniá~ māi~ vʌí~."

ákhná—əláe á~ nə~. māi~ siátá nʌí~.

kiJh dhiáṛe lʌghnen tə~ vʌt ákhní e—əzmái~. búe ʌgge ʌgg khi~ḍá denís e, ti ákhnís—háfzá, bár sí ve, ʌndur vʌṛ vʌ~J.

lʌghniá~ lʌghniá~ mirási Jáṇ buJh ki pāir ʌggí vic mʌ~ḍ denú. "hʌllá sāi^ríe, māi~ sʌṛ geʌí~." kúṛí mucí roní~ hʌmsos krení~ səvá~ denís.

dúá dhiáṛá thíná tə~ mirásuṇ ákhní e—háfzá, to~ḍhe ti tə~ koí sʌxtí á gʌí e. koí cə xʌtum əJhʌíá~ tudh te.

DRUMMER

of Multan Chhota—age 42

There was a drummer and his wife. The wife was of loose character. She goes to a Faqir's shrine; says—O Faqir, this drummer may become blind. (I pray).

The drummer found it out. He follows her. The wife says the prayer, "O Prophet of God, may this drummer become blind."

The next day, wrapping a black blanket, he goes to the shrine. There long he lies down. The wife comes, asks (her) prayer.

(He) says—He will become (blind), but for forty days putting cow's ghee and black peppers give him. Hearing, she comes (back). The durmmer also, going another way round, comes before and lies asleep.

The second (next) day, she says to him—Drummer, to me it so appears that you are thinning.

Something have to eat and drink (regularly). The same day she starts (giving) minced bread.

(When) it is the 20th or 21st day, then the drummer says, "Before my eyes cataract appears."

After 40 days (he) says : "O, I have become blind."

The wife in mind says, "Well, let me test it some day". One day she so does that she twists (prepares) vermicellis, says to him—Blind man, I go to fetch water, mind the vermicellis—lest some cat or dog encroaches.

(He) says—A stick give away in my hand.

When (she) returns, he says—Get away, get away (dog), your masters may die. Stick he strikes on the back of his wife. (She exclaims) 'O you blind, it is I!'

He says, you had to speak. I did not recognize you.

Some days pass by, then again she says—let me test. In front of the door she spreads fire, and says to him, "Blind man, it is cold outside, get in."

While passing, the drummer, knowingly, his foot thrusts into the fire. "O wretched lady, I am burnt." Pretending to weep and regretting she puts him to sleep.

(When) the second day comes, then, the wife says—Blind man, on you some calamity has befallen. Some (reading to an) end (of the Qoran) may be placed on you.

hʌn̤ mɑ̃ɲJá~ nál ghin ání e ápn̤e lu~ḍe bucce jár álum bən̤á ki. unʌ́~ ákhní e—pʌ^ʈo. ʌgle dhiáṛe roʈí nə~ sʌrbʌ~d kʌr dení e. áp lʌggí vɑ̃iní e járá~ dáí~, álmá~ sʌdn̤e nə~ bhələvá~ kʌr ki.

mirásiéá~ dá lʌddhá. piccho~ zɑ̃u^r dhúṛ denə́ thálíá~ te.

mirásun̤ sʌd ki ghin ání e járá~, əJhá dení e khes cádrá~ ḍá^ ki pʌlghá~ ʈi. roʈí Ji khɑ̃inen tə~ niválá pɑ̃ineá~ sár ḍherí thine vɑ̃inen.

cáre mʌr gʌe.

ʌ^nná krená—sɑ̃u^ríe, már rʌkkhe ní. mirásun̤ ákhní e—tudh máren.

"mɑ̃i~ ʌ^nná~, mɑ̃i~ kin~ máren. hʌchá, vʌ~J sʌd áṇ dʌllú áJṛíe-á~. mirási hik muṛdá ve^ṛec kʌḍh rəkhená. dʌllú Ji ánə́ tə~ usá~ ákhná—áJṛíá, rupʌije pʌ~J cá ghin ti muṛdá sʌṭ á.

dʌllu ʌllá nə~ ásrá kʌr ki cá ghiná. vʌ^J səṭená driáe-c.

iddo~ mirási hik hor muṛdá kʌḍh rəkhená. dʌllu Ji muṛ ki ánə́ tə~ usá~ ákhná—í tə~ muṛ áiá. cʌ~gá sʌṭʌí. dʌllu usá~ bí sʌṭ ánə́. hive~ ár tríá ti vʌt cɑ̃uthá muṛdá cá khəṛená. hʌn̤ kidáí~ hik mishur piá dhánə́ ɑ̃iiá. is Ji dʌ~dí to~ khəlo ki muṛdá sʌṭṭá nə~ tə~ mishur ḍʌr ki mʌl pɑ̃ɲná gʌllo~ nʌ~gá í.

áJṛí ákhná—ʌgge í mʌl vɑ̃inɑ̃iio~, hʌn̤ vʌ~Jun̤ nə~ disáí~. rəkhená kuháṛí usní dhɑ̃uɲí~-c, ti ḍheṛí kʌr səṭenás. usá~ bí driáec sʌṭ ghətená.

áJṛí muṛ ki mirásie-á~ vʌ~J dəsená. mirási mirásn̤í-ə~ ákhná— cár tudh máren, pʌ~Jvá~ íbí már áiá.

THE BUILDING

(From Gulzar Nath, Zamindar,

mo^ro~ Já ghiJíní e, Jití sʌr áve. itthe pʌ^Jhí trí^ rupʌije~ kənál ḍhəí pɑ̃ɲní e. sáriá~ kolo~ mukhá kʌm e vʌṭe pəṭɑ̃iɲe nə~. us má~ tuá~ ákhá. ʌsi

Now with pleasure (she) brings her immoral lovers, making them (showing them as) scholars. To them she says, "Read." Next day for feast she makes arrangements. Herself she goes to her lovers, with an excuse to call the scholars. She tells him—'Blind man, mind the bread, etc.'

The drummer found a chance. In (her) absence he spreads poison in the plates.

The wife calls and brings lovers, seats them spreading sheets of cloth on bedsteads. As they eat bread, then immediately after putting in a morsel they become piles (i.e. die.)

All the four die.

The blind man says—Wretched lady, you have killed them. The female drummer says—"You have murdered them."

I am blind, how have I killed them? Well, go and call Dallu, the shepherd. The drummer one corpse in the courtyard places out. As Dallu comes, then he says to him—Shepherd, five rupees you may take and the corpse throw away and come back.

Dallu, trusting in God lifts it up. (He) going throws it into the river.

From this side, the drummer one more corpse places out. As Dallu returning comes, then he says to him—it has come back. How well have you thrown it? Dallu throws away that too. In this way the third and then the fourth corpse he carries away. Now, somehow, a Brahman was bathing (there). When he standing on the precipice, threw the corpse then the Brahman, in fear, runs on, naked as he was.

The shepherd says—You used to run away before, now I will not let you go. (He) puts the axe on his neck and makes him a pile. Him also he throws into the river.

The shepherd returning tells the drummer. The drummer says—Wretched lady, four you have killed, the fifth he also has killed and come.

OF A HOUSE

aged 27, of Shah Mohammadi)

First, site is taken, as much (as one) can afford. Here 26 (or) 30 rupees per kanal (it) can be obtained. Of all, the most difficult task is that of quarrying stones. He would ask you and me. We

tusí lagge gae pa˜J sat ádmí˜. rach cá ghidde. (keṛe keṛe ?) āi báriá˜ gāi˜tí, kaí, aṛá, vəhāle, bolá.

khudríá˜ ci gae, vaṭṭe bhanne˜. ḍhuávṇe nə˜ sarba˜d kitá. uṭhá˜ ti cə ḍhoe. ghar ḍhuk gae tə˜ phaṛíá˜ cə láiá˜. marzí hoí tə˜ ghəṛvá ghidde, naí˜ tə˜ hive˜ kadh cəṛái.

Ji koí sarfá kare tə˜ hor sútur kəríná. gárá cə gholá baú˜ sárá kholṛá karke. thalíá˜ thapíá˜.

páṇí trāl˜k ki hath már kaṇí hik-sáriá˜ kicínián. dátrí nál urár ti pár líká˜ pá divinián. hisábe máxub kəpená giá.

thoṛiá˜ dhiáṛiá˜ báJ pərat choṛo—áṭhur va˜Jun tə˜. ukkiá˜ suk va˜Jun tə˜ cə ḍhoiá˜.

Já vetur kaṇí cə cáṛí. hitthe koṭhí, hutthe koṭhá, hidde chaṇcho^bí, hudde sufá. kholá caṛ giá.

vat haṇ Jhaṅgí dái˜ pa˜J sat Jaṇe lagge gae. dərakhut paṭṭe. kāi^ kāi^ mul ghidde.

kidái˜ mocí pəṭenen, kidái˜ áp. vat luhár já˜ dhirkháṇ sad á˜dá. tham, phelá˜ Joṛ ki hisábe nál kaṛíá˜ varge pá kaṇí ḍhárá pāl giá. lim poc ki vasəṇ lag piá.

A MACIC

(Related by Ghulam

hik āliá mistrí. us pəghúṛá bəṇáiá. trímtí-ə˜ ákhná—va˜J vec á. ákhní e—"maī˜ko mul das."

"ápe kresí."

zənání pəghúṛá ghin ki laggí vāiní e. bádshá^ ne˜ ghar ne˜ cugirdí bhə˜vāi˜ní rai. bádshá^ utto˜ máṛí to˜ takná. vəzír-á˜ ákhná—va˜J vekh, í pəghúṛá vicení e ki mul ghiddás.

vəzír áṇ ki ákhná—mul vicení e. bádshá puchá—kí maṅgní e? zənání ákhní e—mul pəghúṛá ápe kresí.

bádshá^ hukum dittá—urá˜ ghin áo.

pəghúṛe kolo˜ puchnen—to˜ḍhá kí mul e?

əlāiná—maī˜ḍá sāl rupaijá mul e.

bádshá^ ákhná—kaḍh deo.

and you go, five seven men. Tools (we) take. (What tools?). These crowbars, pick-axe,-spade, hook, hoe, chisel.

(We) go to ravines, and break stones. To carry them arrangement is made. On camels (they) are carried. When they are collected in the home, piles are laid. If wish be, they are carved, otherwise as they are, wall is erected.

If any one does economy, then another arrangement is made. Mud is mixed in great quantity, slightly hard.

Sprinkling water, by hand they are made even. With sickle this side and that side across lines are given. According to some proportion go on cutting.

After some days, turn upside down—when they begin to dry. When they are altogether dry then they are carried.

Cutting the site (i.e., foundation) it is erected. There an inner room, here a big room, this side a bathroom, that side a verandah. Walls are constructed.

Then, now to the grove five seven men go. Trees (they) uproot. Some buy them.

Somewhere cobblers uproot (trees), somewhere (the owner) himself. Then a blacksmith or carpenter - mason is called. Pillars and timbers are fixed and according to proportion beams and rafters are put, structure is built. After plastering (it), he begins to live.

CRADLE

Ali Awan, aged 51, of Trap)

(There) was a mechanic. He made a cradle. To the wife he says—Go and sell it. (She) says—"Tell me the price."

"It will tell itself."

The wife taking the cradle goes away. All about the house of the king she moved with it. The king looks from above from the upper room. (He) says to the minister—Go and see: Does she sell this cradle or she has bought it?

The minister coming says—She sells. The king asks—What does she demand? The woman says—The price will the cradle tell itself.

The king ordered—This side bring it.

They ask of the cradle—What is your price?

It says—Mine a hundred rupees is the price.

The king says—Take out and give.

bádshá ráti sāi~ ráná pəghuṛe ti. hik pává bákiá~ ákhná —māi~ vāiná~ shár, koi xʌbur ʌdur ghinnuṇ. tusi xʌburdár thi vʌ~Jo Ji dhʌmuk nə~ lʌgge.

muṛ kʌṇi áiá. unná~ puchá—suṇá, kiJh gʌl kʌth.

ákhná—suṇi~d i koi nʌi~—ki dassi~. hik sudágur zádá, sudágri kʌr kʌṇi áiá. trimutus bʌdmásh. us sir kʌp ghiddás. gəváḍhe ti kəsái e. us sho^de ne~ mʌtthe lāisi. beGuná phá^ lʌg vāisi.

bádshá suṇená~ piá āiiá.

dúá giá—muṛ kʌṇi áná, tə~ ú ákhnen—suṇá,

ákhná—bádshá suttá piá, ti suṇi~d āi^ koi nʌi~. kāi~ko dassá~? sháro~ bár təlá ve. utthe nág ráná. bádshá dhávaṇ vāisi. sʌp phúk məresi ti isná~ sá^ chik ghisi. bádshá mʌr vāisi.

tríá giá. muṛ ki áná tə~ páve hál həvál puchnes. ákhná —ki krá~? bádshá uṭhaṛsi. sʌp piá kuru~ḍiá Jutti vic. ḍaṅg məresi ti sá^ utthe i nikul vāisus.

bádshá ákhná—in gʌlá~ sʌcíá~ thiá~ tə~ sāi rupʌijá hor desá~.

haṇ cāūthá vʌ~J kʌṇi ákhná—bádshá ni trímut e. kitti məbʌbtá~ nál á~dis. pʌr us jár rʌkhá oiá, kol vicálá thʌm e rʌṅg māi^l nə~. so^but kʌr ki vic váṛ chuṛenis.

bádshá ákhná—i gʌl bi sʌc e tə~ sāi rupʌijá hor desá~.

bádshá uṭhuṛ ki sədená vəzír-ə~. hukum dená, Jullo māi~ḍe nál. bádshəzádi ne~ koṭhe nə~ búá lá^o. cúthi thiṛáo. pʌr pāilo~ vekho Juttic sʌp āi já nʌi~. vəkhnen tə~ āi. már səṭeone. hukum ho giá. vʌ~Jo. sāū rupʌijá de áo mistri-ə~.

bádshá pāire Jutti pá ki hurná máṛi to~, tə~ á vāini e sudágurzádi roni piṭeni—māi~ḍá khá~və~d márá giá. lʌkhie márá—núrá ná~ vus. bádshá ákhnás—vʌ~J dʌfná. māi~ á rásá~.

bádshá nʌmburdáre á~ sədá kʌṇi ákhná—vʌ~Jo təlháe te Jitthe māi~ vāiná~ dhávaṇ. utthe sʌp nikle tə~ goli már

The king at night goes to sleep on the cradle. One leg (of the cradle) says to the others—"I go to the town, some news, etc. to bring. You become alert so that no jerk is felt."

Returning it came. They asked—Tell some talk, etc.

It says—No one is listener at all—What may I tell? There is the son of a merchant, (who) has come after doing trade. His wife is immoral. She has beheaded him. His neighbour is a butcher. She will put allegation on that poor (man's) forehead. Innocent he will be hanged.

The king was listening.

The second went. When it returns then they say—Say.

It says - The king is asleep, and no one is listener. Whom may I tell? Outside the town is a tank. There lives a serpent. The king will go to bathe. The serpent will blow (with breath) and his breath it will pull up. The king will die.

The third went. Returning comes, then legs ask him the account, etc. It says—What should we do? The king will get up. A snake, Krait, is lying in the shoe. It will bite him and his breath at that very place will go out.

The king says—(If) these things turn true then hundred rupees more shall I give.

Now the fourth going brings news, says—There is a wife of the king. For how many loves he has brought her. But she has kept a lover with her. There is the middle pillar of the colour-palace. Doing copulation, she gets him enter (in that).

The king says—(If) this thing also is true then a hundred rupees more shall I give.

The king getting up calls the minister. (He) orders, go along with me. Of the princess's room, open the door. But first see, is there a snake in the shoe or no? They see, then there is (one). They killed it. Order was given—Go (and) a hundred rupees give to the mechanic and come.

The king wearing the shoes on his feet descends from the upper storey, then comes up the wife of the merchant weeping and crying—"My husband is murdered. The butcher has killed him—(whose) name is Nura." The king says to her—Go and bury (him). I will come.

The king sending for the village headman says—Go to the tank where I go to bathe. (If) a snake comes out there, shoot it

rumál ti satvá˜ əkhoṛ. unná˜ bhannáˆ˜ tə˜ nixtá rumál. bádshá hiráṇ piráṇ thí giá.

vat hukum hoiá—sáriá˜ nú˜á˜ roṭí pəkāin, várí várí khəsá˜.

nikṛe nə˜ lambur áiá. ú tə˜ Jí bimár thí piá. trímtí puchá—kí vá. us ákhá—kal piú ní˜ roṭí e. bande baú˜ ásun. kí karsá˜.

us ákhá—koí gal naí˜. uṭhuṛ vaˆ˜J usse Jáí Jittho˜ á˜daí. əláe˜ : shəparí niá˜ saṭh səhāilíá˜, pəristán ne kháṇe, bhá˜ḍe, darí á˜ peshí vele á ravvan.

dúe dhiáṛe fazrí ele bádshá sāū Jaṇe ghin ki á giá. kháṇiá˜ ti aJh gae. Jis ráṅg nə˜ kháṇá áve, usse ráṅg nə˜ vartuṇ, hiki hiki agge sat sat bhá˜ḍe Juṛ gae.

shəparí khalṛí lá^ ki səhāiliá˜ nál āiṭhí aí. bádshá takki, tə˜ ḍá^ḍá xush thiá. baṛí súratva˜d aí. i˜Je bhakhní aí Jive˜ gāi˜s balná.

lok roṭí pinní khá ki gharo ghár lagge áe. naḍhe-á˜ Ji dá piá us khalṛí ghin ki aggi-c saṭ ditti. us ákhá bhaí khalṛí pá ki koJhí lagsí.

Jio˜ Ji khalṛí-á˜ ag laggí nə˜, parí hál hál kar ditti—bádshəzádiá, zulum ghatai. haṇ aglí gal naí˜ raí. tudh par sáṛ saṭṭen.

xāir Jí. parí niá˜ səhāiliá˜ ápṇí har shāi ghin ki ṭur gaiá˜. ráti dá lá ki shəparí bí laggí gaí.

NORTH WIND

pure ní váu ti dee˜ bāū˜sh lá ditti bháí keṛá trakṛá, Ji hik á nixtá huddo˜ pərdesí garum əndrakkhá valṭená˜.

unná˜ í Jotriá bháí Jeṛá pərdesí ná˜ əndrakkhá moro˜ lə^vāisí úá trakṛá gittá vāisí.

vat Jí vag paí nə˜ vá tə˜ púre zore nál. par Jio˜ Jio˜ o vagge tio˜ tio˜ pərdesí apṇá əndrakkhá ghuṭ ke valheṭí va˜Je. əkhirí vá ghaṭ khalti.

vat deo˜ mac ki tappá ti shappo-shap us əndrakkhá lá^ saṭṭá. ti hi˜Je ár váú-á˜ manṇá piá bháí deo˜ assá^ doá˜ co˜ trakṛá.

handkerchiefs and the seventh a walnut. (When) they broke (it), then came out a kerchief. The king became surprised.

Again, order was given—"All daughters-in-law may cook bread. We shall eat turn by turn."

The turn of the youngest came. He, Sir, fell ill. The wife asked—What is it? He said—Tomorrow is father's meal. Many men will come. What shall we do?

She said—It does not matter. Stand up, go to the same place from where you have brought me. Shout out to the sixty friends of the fairy, (that) of the fairy-land, meals, utensils, carpets in the afternoon should reach.

The next day in the morning the king taking 100 men came. They sat at meals. Of whatever colour meal came, of the same colour (came) utensil. In front of every one, seven utensils collected.

The fairy putting off the skin was sitting with friends. (When) the king saw her, then he was highly pleased. She was very beautiful. She shone as gas-light burns.

People taking meals etc. went to their respective houses. (As) the boy got chance, he took the skin and put it into the fire. He said that by putting on the skin she would look ugly.

As soon as the skin caught fire, the fairy began to cry—O Prince, cruelty you have done. Now first thing is not left. You have burnt wings (of mine).

Well then. The friends of the fairy, taking everything of theirs, went away. At night, getting chance, the fairy also went away.

AND THE SUN

The North Wind and the Sun were disputing which was the stronger, when a traveller came along wrapped in a warm cloak.

They agreed that the one who first made the traveller take off his cloak should be considered stronger.

Then, Sir, the wind blew with all his might, but the more he blew the more closely did the traveller fold his cloak around him. At last the North Wind gave up the attempt.

Then the Sun shone out warmly, and immediately the traveller took off his cloak. So in this way the Wind was obliged to confess that the Sun was stronger of the two.

Note—Translated by the writer with the help of his uncle of v. Multan.

The North Wind and the Sun

(Ram Lal, student 8th Class, Government High School, Talagang)

nárth vinḍ āĩ˜ḍ də ʂan var ḍispiúṭiŋg vic váz də sṭrá˜gər, ve˜n e ṭrāivlar kem āĩlá˜g rāipḍ in e várm klokə. de āĩgríḍ dāiṭ də˜ van hú fasṭ meḍ də ṭrāivlar ṭek áf hiz klok shnḍ bí kansiḍarḍ sṭrág˜ər dāin də adər. de˜n də nárth vinḍ biliú vid ál hiz máiṭ, baṭ də mor hí biliú, də mor klozlí ḍiḍ də ṭrāivlar foḷḍ hiz klok āiráú˜ḍ him, āĩ˜ḍ āiṭ lást də nárth vinḍ gev ap də əṭe˜mpṭ. de˜n də san shon áúṭ vármlí, āĩ˜ḍ imíJí-'eṭlí də ṭrāivlar ṭuk áf hiz klok, āĩ˜ḍ so də nárth vinḍ váz ubláíJḍ ṭú kánfes dāiṭ də san váz də sṭrá˜gər áf də ṭú.

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